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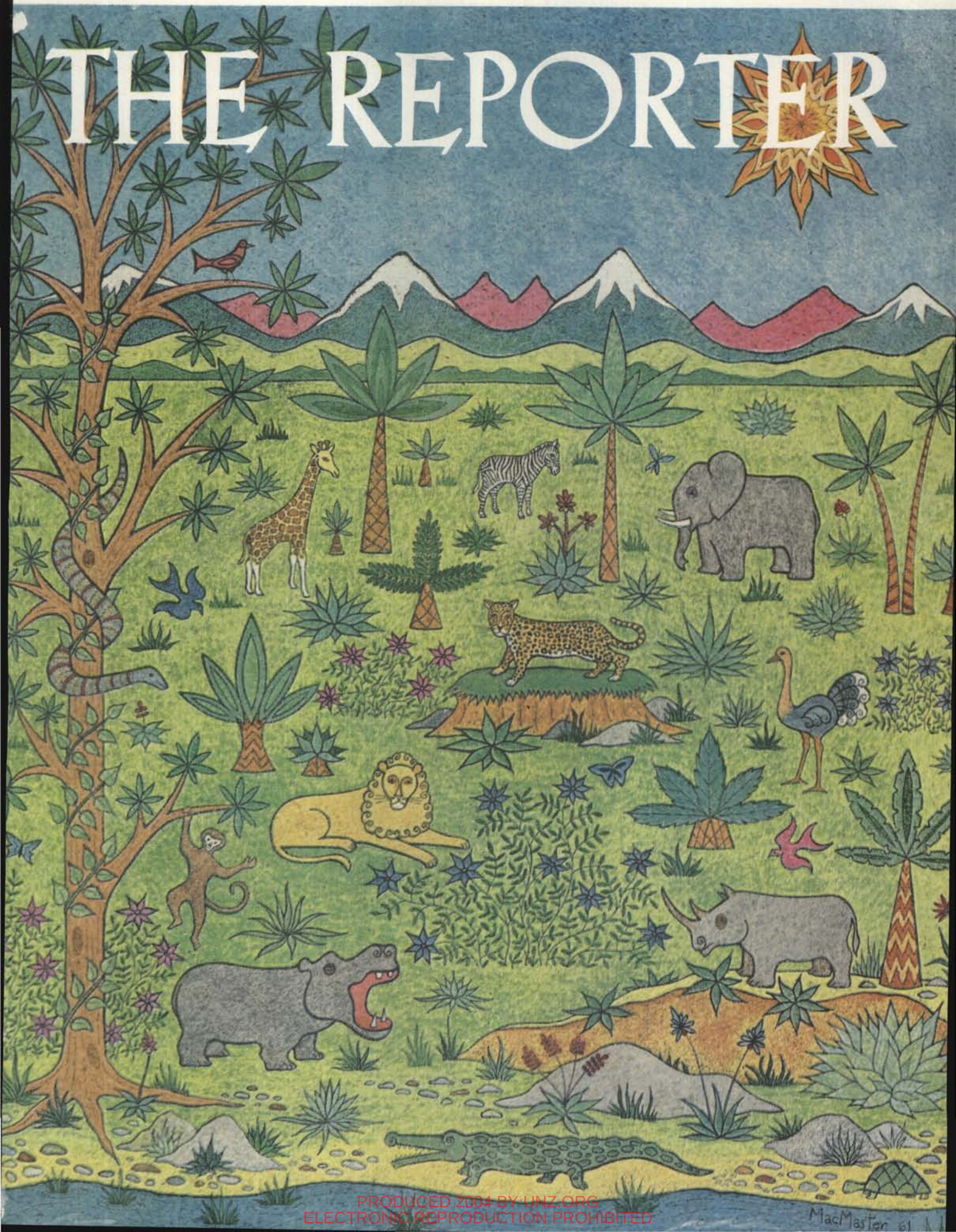

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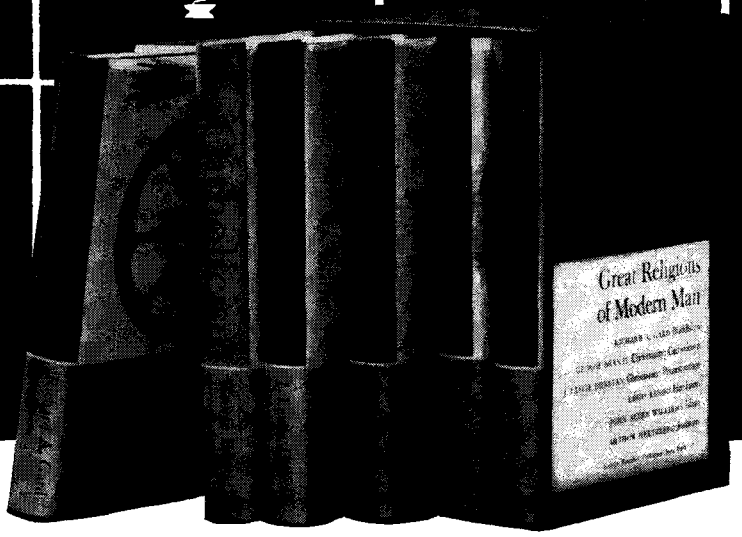

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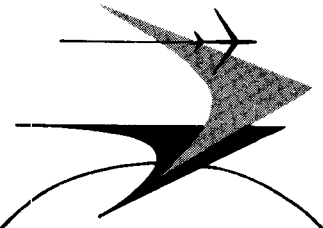

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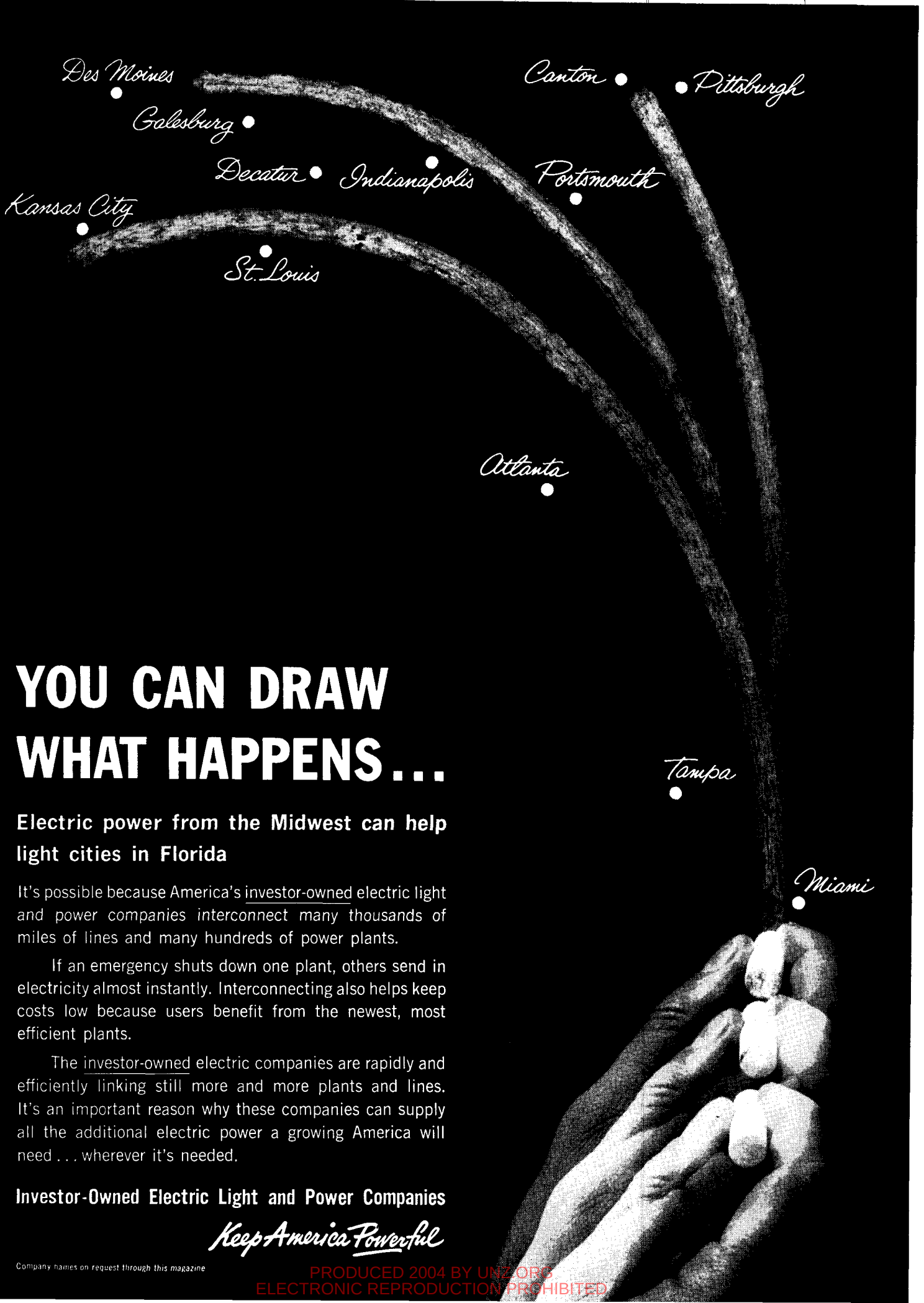

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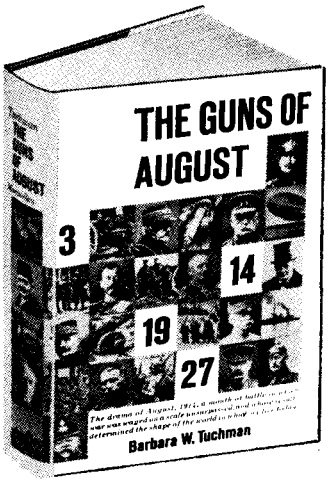

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WHO— WHAT— WHY—

ACCORDING to the sermons of our politicians, ours is a very young country. Indeed, it is not so long ago that it broke free from the bondage of colonialism and is thus ideally suited to understand the new nations or would-be nations that are emerging all over the globe. In his editorial **Max Ascoli** casts some doubt on this notion, on strictly actuarial criteria.

Our democratic institutions, centered of course in our Constitution, have been working much better than some of our country's Founding Fathers ever dared to hope, and there is still plenty of life left both in our basic laws and in our economy. But it is also true that the newest economic system is usually the most effective, just because of the fact that it is up to date. One system now being built on a continental scale is that of Europe, and we have a lot to learn from it. How much work is needed to reconcile the interests of management, of labor, and of the people at large has been seen by everybody during the recent steel crisis. During those fateful seventy-two hours maybe we all, like our President, were somewhat too hard on the steel barons, and it is good to know, from the President himself, that we are once more in an era of friendly and brotherly feelings. But certainly we cannot forget what happened during those days. We say this not in a hortatory way, for the new evidences of the need of some guidelines to the relationship between management, labor, and government are to be found in every morning's newspaper. **Bernard D. Nossiter** is with the Washington *Post*.

"THE SEATTLE SETTLEMENT," as the subtitle may indicate, is of an allegoric or fictitious nature. Yet sometimes important ideas can be legitimately expressed in this form. **Meg Greenfield** is a staff writer. . . . Britain's 1962 Defence White Paper represents a review of the Duncan Sandys "New Look" of five years ago, when it was announced that Britain would rely on nuclear weapons to fight wars if they failed in their role as deterrents. **H. A. DeWeerd** analyzes the changes in the military situation—and in British military thinking—that have produced a situation today where Britain's conventional armed forces are hardly strong enough to perform the duties that they might be called upon to fulfill in any sizable limited war, and where Britain's confidence in its nuclear capability appears to be ebbing. **Mr. DeWeerd**, a military historian, is now with the Rand Corporation. . . . Under Secretary of State George W. Ball's view that the European neutral countries should not be allowed to enter the Common Market has caused a great deal of concern in Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria. As **Gordon Brook-Shepherd** points out, however, the question of their admittance has far-ranging effects upon the entire western strategic concept vis-à-vis the Communist bloc. Mr. Brook-Shepherd is with the London *Sunday Telegraph*. . . . The problems created by Britain's prospective entry into the Common Market loom large in the minds of Canada's leaders too. **William H. Hessler**, who is with the Cincinnati *Enquirer*, reviews the change in the official Canadian attitude since last summer, when Prime Minister Macmillan first declared his intention of seeking admission for Britain, and gives an accounting of what the loss of some preferences in the British market will mean to Canada. . . . Early in the Second World War, Representative Albert Thomas of Houston was eager to have the Army set up a depot in San Jacinto. It did. Now Representative Thomas, among others, has managed to get the Army out again. The tale that hangs thereby is an ominous one for the Army and for taxpayers too. **Clifton Brock** is a member of the faculty at the University of North Carolina.

IN AMONG quotations from *The Wind in the Willows* and philosophical observations tending toward antisuperphiloprogenitiveness as it affects America's roadways, **Al Newman** has some practical suggestions about the suitability of foreign cars for American city dwellers. Mr. Newman, former managing editor of *The Reporter*, is an automobile buff of long standing and is currently writing a series of articles on small cars for the New York *Herald Tribune*. . . . **Nat Hentoff** discusses recent trends in folk singing. . . . **Alfred Kazin's** *Contemporaries* has just been published by the Atlantic Monthly Press. . . . **James Schevill's** next collection of poems will be published soon by Alan Swallow. Mr. Schevill is director of the San Francisco Poetry Center. . . . **William Lee Miller** teaches at the Yale Divinity School. . . . **Marvin R. Weisbord** is a free-lance writer.

Our cover for this issue is by **Charles MacMaster.**

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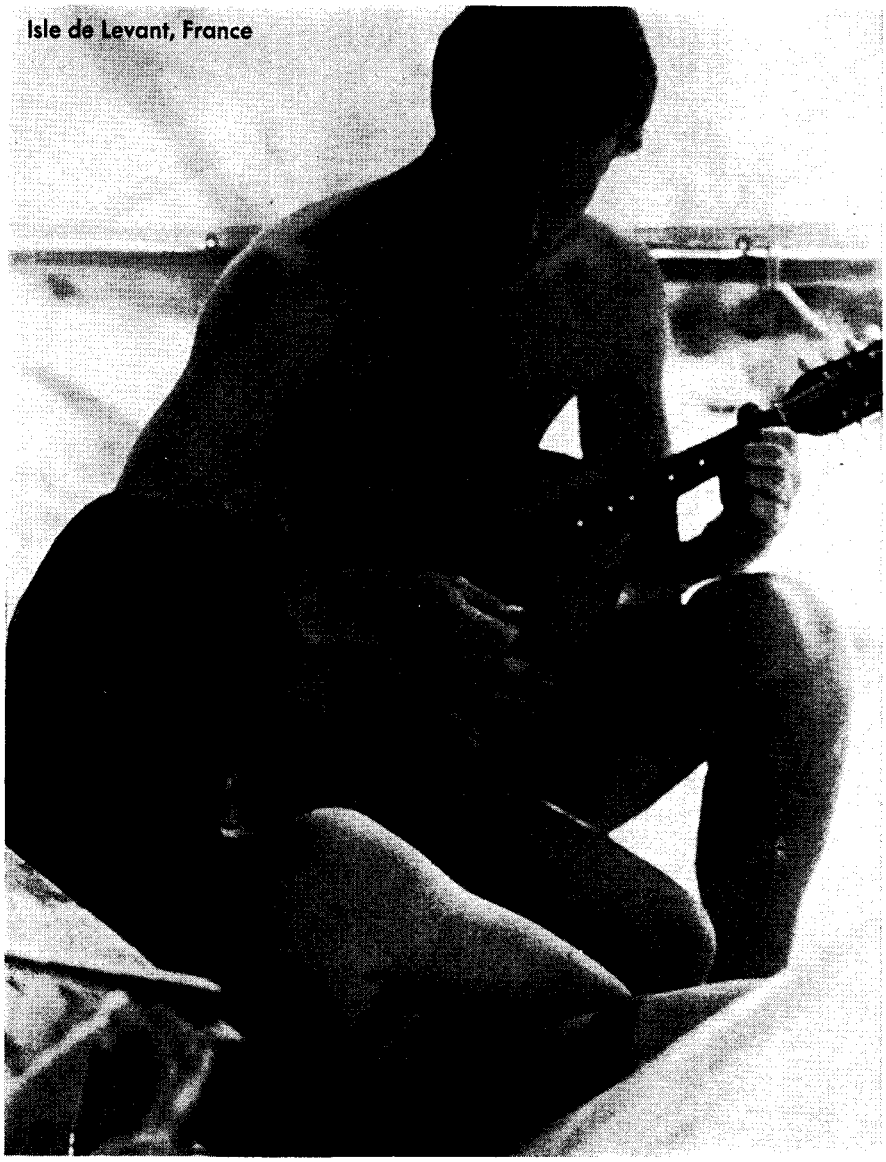
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STEEL

To the Editor: Your editorial "The Steelmen's Gamble" (April 26) very cogently explained the administration's actions in the recent steel price increase. A recurrent theme I have found in the articles of those who oppose the administration's actions is that the primary purpose of a business enterprise is to produce profits for its owners, and that a price increase is justified if it will produce or increase profits. This notion, which has persisted throughout the history of capitalistic thought, is erroneous. The *raison d'être* of a business enterprise, whether it be in a capitalistic, Communistic, or feudalistic economic system, is to satisfy, in some way, the wants or needs of its customers. In a capitalistic economy a business enterprise has a definite responsibility to compensate its owners for their financial investments, just as it has a responsibility to compensate its employees for the investment of their work. No business enterprise, however, can be established purely for the sake of meeting these responsibilities. Business serves the public and not vice versa.

WILFRED B. SWENSON
Yakima, Washington

To the Editor: Although I share some of your indignation at the manner in which the steel companies attempted to solve their economic difficulties, I wonder if their decision to raise prices did, in fact, represent an "act of government." If so, then by definition such a decision ". . . can never again be taken without . . . thorough consultation with the national government." If not, then our traditional concept of privately owned and operated corporations may still be socially and economically viable.

An act of government implies coercive power. It may not be employed, but it must exist. For U.S. Steel alone to have raised its prices does not subject the purchasers of steel to coercion in any form. For the entire industry to have raised its prices (which is specifically illegal if done in collusion and which did not happen in any case), an element of coercion exists only insofar as purchasers are forced to buy steel and buy it domestically. These are not matters of law but of economics and are greatly influenced by such bona fide government activities as maintaining tariff barriers and awarding defense contracts. Under these circumstances, decisions taken by private companies must depend on acceptance in the marketplace rather than on legal sanctions for their results. It seems an exaggeration to call such decisions acts of government.

President Kennedy might have been better advised to react swiftly and decisively to developments in Berlin

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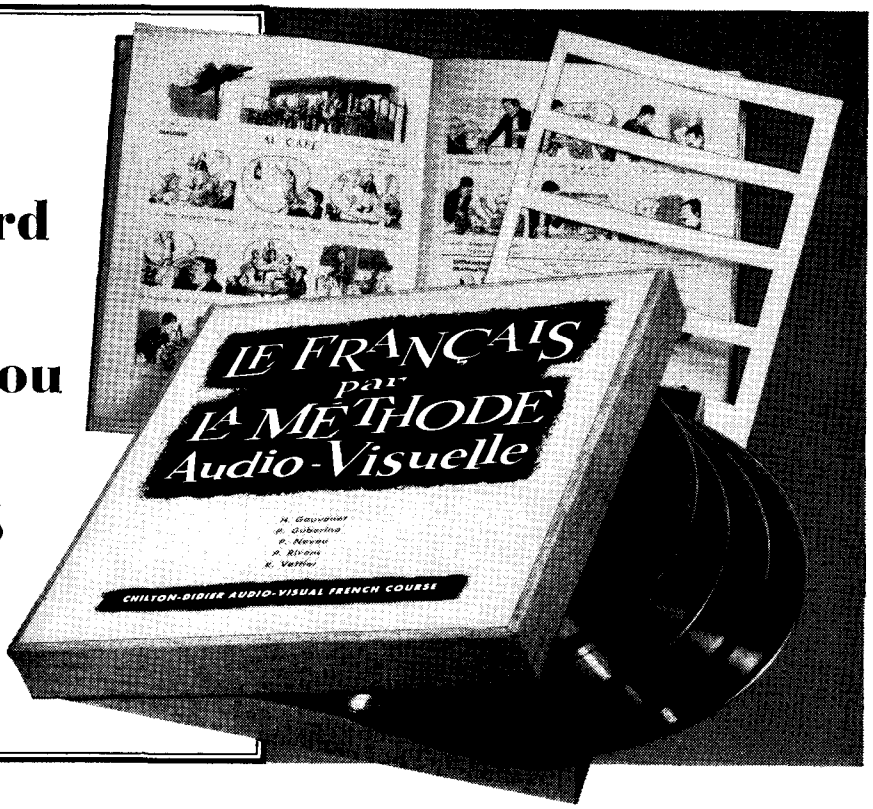

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(see the excellent article in the same issue by George Bailey), rather than to vent his spleen on Mr. Blough.

Anthony Prud'homme
New York City

To the Editor: "The Steelmen's Gamble" came to some strong conclusions. Did the facts justify them?

The editorial labeled the steel-price increase "conspirational." If the charge were true, the government would have had a clear duty to prosecute the steel executives on these grounds. Were the steelmen conspiring with the government as well as among themselves?

The editorial called the price increase a "reckless gamble." After then listing a series of wage increases not accompanied by price increases, the editorial seems compelled to apologize for its charge. "True, the industry, for all its prosperous earnings, is in some trouble." But the answers to the industry's troubles are not more profits. They are the timeless socialists' panacea: "bad need of government assistance and counsel." Like the railroads?

George R. Watts
Philadelphia

BERLIN

To the Editor: It is difficult to know whether one should be enraged or puzzled after reading George Bailey's "The Gentle Erosion of Berlin" (*The Reporter*, April 26). The problem of Berlin has become pre-eminently a political problem, a fact which is generally recognized in the West, yet the western politician in Berlin does not seem to be the same man any two days running.

On one day western action comes out of the "tough" politics of President Kennedy-General Clay, and the next day the Soviets are introduced to the puzzling politics of President Kennedy-NATO-and an amorphous "untough" voice from somewhere in "Washington." If this teeter-totter method of confrontation is meant to keep the Soviets off balance, it would be good to know more precisely why such politics is being used. But if, as seems more likely, it is the result of tearing tensions within our own foreign policy and among the western powers, then President Kennedy is not the politician we thought he was; and, an even more important point, he is not the politician *he* thought he was.

President de Gaulle has amply demonstrated that a morally strong leader has little to fear once he gets his vision fixed. It will do no good to point out that consultation is necessary in the alliance. The President himself has recognized the central danger in our confrontation with Communism: that we have a plurality of voices and advices to hold together against the Soviet monolith. Consultation is necessary, certainly. But consultation is not a policy.

Frank M. Wessling
Managing Editor
The Reign of the Sacred Heart
Hales Corners, Wisconsin

RADIO MOSCOW

To the Editor: Al Newman's "This Is Radio Moscow" (*The Reporter*, April 26) was both interesting and amusing. There is certainly much truth in the observation that Soviet propaganda is a lot more complicated than it was "back in the simple days of Stalin."

John C. Guthrie, Director
Office of Soviet Union Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D.C.

To the Editor: Mr. Newman has done an amazingly devastating piece of analysis.

The Reporter maintains such a consistently high level of excellence that it is always eminently readable. The April 26 issue is no exception.

Reed Harris
Executive Assistant
to the Director
U.S. Information Agency
Washington, D.C.

HEROISM OR HYPOCRISY?

To the Editor: To live in America as a Negro is often a distressing experience. It is therefore comforting to witness attacks on racial discrimination, provided there is reason to believe that the attacker's motives are honorable. Since some of the assaults will be pious deceptions, *The Reporter* is to be commended for its timely observation that "it is not always easy to tell heroism from hypocrisy" (*The Reporter's* Notes, March 15). This should serve as a reminder to us to put "The Great Bias Hunt" in perspective.

Gilbert Ware
Princeton, New Jersey

POETS' CORNER

To the Editor: Please accept my compliments on an unusually fine piece of poetry in your April 26 issue, "Dick King" by Thomas Kinsella.

Mr. Kinsella speaks with moving sensitivity, and in unusually beautiful phrases. It is a pleasure to come across such a work in your always interesting and stimulating magazine.

Tevis Rowan
Wallingford, Pennsylvania

To the Editor: A note on Sec's poem on "Ranger IV" in the issue of May 10:

1. "On the dark side of the moon!" The impact was on the side we never see because it is never toward us but, when the moon is new, that is the *illuminated* side.

2. Ranger IV was completely melted, so will never be seen again.

3. "Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star" rhymes in couplets, not in alternate verses.

4. The last stanza should end in a question mark.

Herbert A. Glucksman
Arlington, Massachusetts

Miss Mannes replies:
Oh no it shouldn't.

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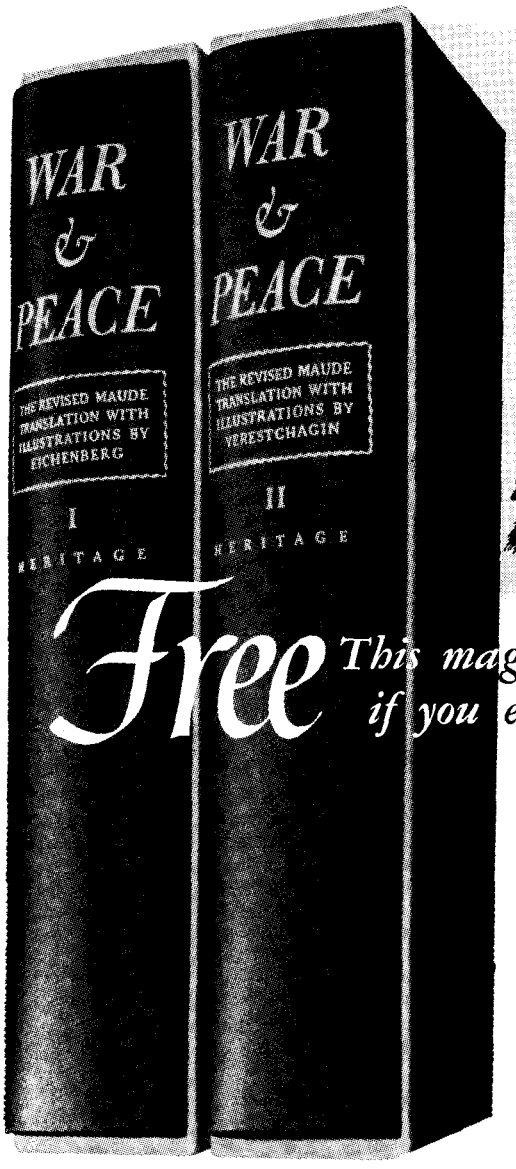

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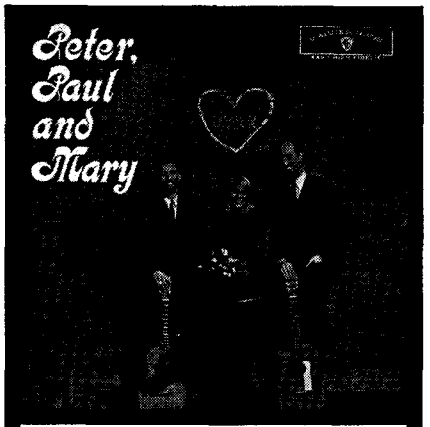

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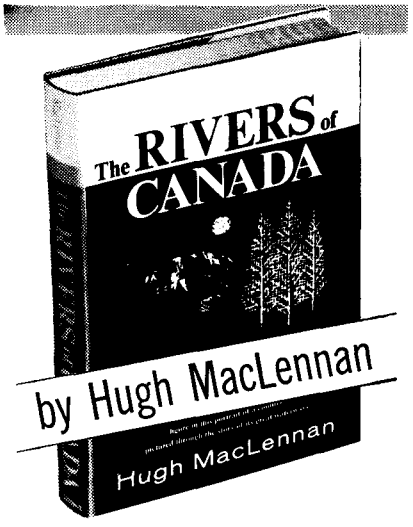

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THE REPORTER'S NOTES

Unbelting the Earth

WE HAVE SAID BEFORE how we feel about the resumption of atmospheric tests and we have to say it once again. Not that whatever may be said on the subject means much; particularly considering that what we say can express feelings much more than knowledge. There is little that we laymen can positively know on the subject, and our heart goes out to those of our nation's leaders, especially to the President, who certainly with more information than we have—though information in this field can never be enough—had to make the final decision. As he himself said, he just had to decide as he did. The latest Soviet tests had left him no choice. It is never a good state of affairs when the head of our government cannot help but ratify decisions or choices that other people—in this case the Russians—have made for him. But again, we think we understand our President and we stand by him.

As a substitute for the war our nation does not want and for the peace it cannot have, a series of war games is going on with the Soviet Union both in the political and in the military field. Token units, western and Communist, are engaged in various parts of the world against each other, representing far larger units that could come into action if things were pushed too far by one side or the other. The same thing goes on in the realm of tests in the atmosphere. A token war is going on there, a limited or controlled or, as it is said, a "clean" sample of the real thing. These scientific military operations take place in what may truly be called the fourth dimension. It is the dimension that Einstein himself—poor great man—called time-space.

How many people are going to suffer from the fallout of the atmospheric tests, where, and when? The scientists, the men who should know, offer us most contradictory answers on all counts. There are those who say practically nothing will happen to anyone at any time, and maybe fallout is good for you; and there are those, like Dr. Linus Pauling, who recently wrote that he estimates "the recent Soviet atmospheric tests will, if the human race survives, reap a toll approaching 20,000,000 grossly defective children and embryonic and neonatal deaths." President Kennedy, Dr. Pauling added, "assures us that the number of children sacrificed to the proposed American tests would not be so great." The President must shudder at the prospect that not just millions but one single child may grow up crippled in some part of the world well after the President has ended his term of office or his life on earth. But again it is a bitter humiliation for all of us, but most of all for the President, to have this freedom of choice taken away from us, free men, by our opponents, and we can only hope and pray that as soon as our security allows it, the war game in the fourth dimension will be brought to an end.

WHEN we first read about the business of blasting the Van Allen belt, our first reaction was that something unheard of was at stake. Who was Van Allen? What was the belt? Van Allen, we found out, is a distinguished professor of physics, head of the department at the State University of Iowa. As for the belt, even after having done quite a bit of reading, we are still not too clear, and the scientists, for a change, do not contribute much to our enlightenment. They keep contradicting each other on the business of blasting the belt.

The discovery of the belt by Professor Van Allen is reported to have been one of the major achievements of the International Geophysical Year. It was good to know that an American had discovered that thing

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which ranges from six hundred miles above the earth to more than forty thousand miles. If the discovery was so important, so proudly hailed, our untrained mind could only conclude that the belt or belts ought to be the object of further and further studies. At the end we might even get some idea of what it does.

The controversy is raging among scientists. Some say that the blasting of the belt won't harm anybody and might increase our military security. According to Walter Sullivan of the New York *Times*, the idea of the forthcoming explosion, we read, came from two physicists at the University of Minnesota back in 1958. They proposed that a hydrogen bomb be exploded inside the Van Allen radiation. "This would contort the earth's magnetic field and dump particles it held. The particles would plunge into the atmosphere, producing spectacular auroral displays." "It might be amusing," they wrote, "to end the IGY by destroying some of the radiation field first discovered during the IGY."

Won't it be fun?

Some other scientists, particularly in Great Britain, are of a drastically opposite opinion. Professor Martin Ryle, one of the world's leading astronomers, wrote: "All that one gathers is that they want to see if they can blow a hole in the Van Allen belt and disrupt radio communications. Well, that's a pretty elementary business, and when you ask what else, they say, military secret.

"But so many things are done in the name of military necessity that are not really necessary that I am very perturbed . . . These belts might be dispersed for tens or hundreds of years and they are not even going to bring it up before an international body." It is not the realization of the limits to human reason that bothers us. We are entirely reconciled to the notion we learn from Immanuel Kant: man's reason can neither prove nor disprove the existence of God and the decision one way or another can only come from faith or from lack of faith. Of one thing we are convinced: the limits of man's reason cannot possibly lead to faith in the quarreling scientists and even less to those among them inclined to play God.

These rather transcendental

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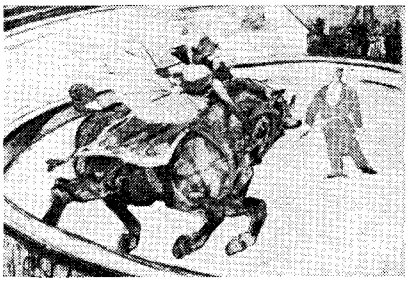

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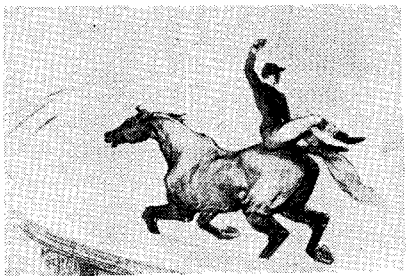

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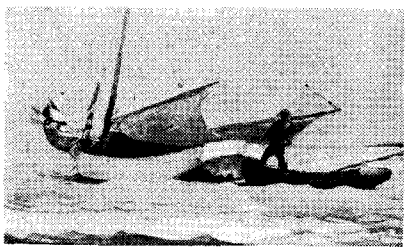

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thought came to our mind the other day when we were watching the President's press conference on TV. Asked about the controversial explosion, he answered, "I know there's been a disturbance about the Van Allen belt, but Van Allen says it's not going to affect the belt, and it's his."

But the assembled newspapermen felt that the President's crack (we are sure it was no more than a crack) was uproariously funny and a peal of laughter burst out of the TV machine. As for us, we could not laugh and we could not cry. We just gasped.

—M. A.

Here He Goes Again!

Among the political cognoscenti in California, the state of candidate Richard M. Nixon's press relations has become a topic of recurring gossip. Nixon himself had a great deal to say on the subject—most of it dour—in his autobiography, *Six Crises* (which the San Francisco columnist Herb Caen has retitled "Poor Me"). During the 1960 campaign, the Republican nominee seems to have harbored deepening suspicions that the reporters who tagged along constituted the enemy in his camp. And thoughtful observers, like Theodore H. White in his *The Making of the President, 1960;* suspected in turn that Nixon's relations with the press were a symptom rather than the cause of his failure.

The discussion has flared up again now that Nixon is candidate for the less august office of governor. Recently he refused interviews to columnist Marquis Childs and Washington *Post* reporter Edward Folliard. When Robert Novak of the *Wall Street Journal* requested permission to fly along on a campaign junket, he was told there was no room in the plane. Novak and a *Saturday Evening Post* photographer chartered their own plane and arrived to find Nixon disembarking from one that was half empty.

Tales like these, passed around and magnified in transmission, have been bringing considerable comfort to the camp of Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown. Brown stalwarts who admit that they were pretty despondent a few months ago now claim that things are looking very good indeed for their man. They note that during his numerous stump speeches Nixon has developed the habit of referring to a town as "this locality" rather than by name—a telltale sign that he is feeling lost amid California's sprawling megalopolises. Other signs, they say, tend to prove that the former Vice-President doesn't understand what has been happening to his home state since he was a boy growing up in the small town of Whittier. It has been a dozen years since he ran his one state-wide campaign for senator. Today, Whittier has become one of the countless suburbs of Los Angeles.

Brown, the Brown men argue, does know his state from top to bottom. Despite the mishaps of two years ago—his indecisive handling of Caryl Chessman's execution and his failure to deliver California's delegation intact at the Democratic national convention—he has shown himself capable of acting pretty big when it comes to California's galloping service needs for water, throughways, schools, etc. Even neutral observers agree that he has shown real courage at times.

The governor, a far more arresting figure close up than via the video waves, is inclined to be cautious about the approaching battle. He professes to be enjoying Nixon's struggle in the primaries with a troglodyte of the far Right, Joseph Shell. But he knows that he is destined to be the main target and is waiting warily to see just how the attack will commence. Already there are some familiar signs. Within the past few days, the governor snorts derisively, a few bumper tags have begun to appear on automobiles, bearing the tried and true query "Is Brown Pink?"

PST and PDST

In many parts of the country the triumphs and misadventures of the nation's capital take second place to more pressing matters closer to home. Right now, the biggest political battle in Oregon is being waged over the springtime practice of moving the clock ahead. Citizens of California to the south and Washington to the north enjoy the illusion of lengthened leisure brought by daylight saving time. But Oregon's dairy farmers are not disposed to rise an hour ear-

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lier simply to suit the city dwellers and have forced the state legislature to maintain "God's time." This year, a compromise permitted the city of Portland to make an independent choice. Portland promptly opted for daylight saving.

The resulting reverberations have shaken the state capital. Among the maddest are those who dwell in other urban communities in Oregon but do not have the choice allowed to Portland. They are threatening to resort to bootleg daylight saving. What it means is that citizens of Eugene, for example, will pretend to keep the clock the way it is but will actually advance all activities one hour. Stores will open at eight instead of nine, men will meet for lunch at eleven.

At any rate, it provides a good excuse for those misanthropes who never get anywhere on time anyway.

Italy's New President

Italy has had three presidential elections since, in 1946, the people decided they preferred a republican form of government to the House of Savoy, and one thing about these three elections is unquestionable: they represent a crescendo in confusion. The latest one, which came to its conclusion on the sixth of this month when Antonio Segni was elected for the seven-year term, reached a degree of messiness that seems unsurpassable—but who knows?

The whole thing deserves some comment, since this very confusion is an indication of the present state of political affairs in a major allied country, though it must be added that party politics in Italy becomes even more confounded than usual when the time comes to elect a president.

The electors are the members of the two houses of parliament, plus ten regional representatives—854 "great electors," as they are called. Of these, about two hundred are Communists and more than fifty are neo-Fascists or Monarchists. The extreme Left and the extreme Right in the normal course of parliamentary life play only a harassing negative role because of the very fact that their participation in a government would be unacceptable to the demo-

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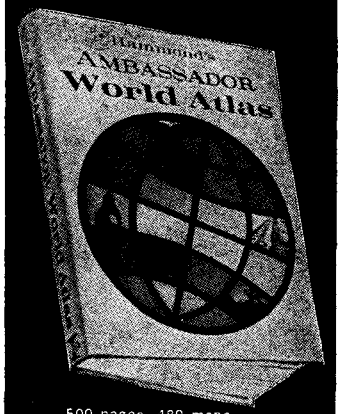

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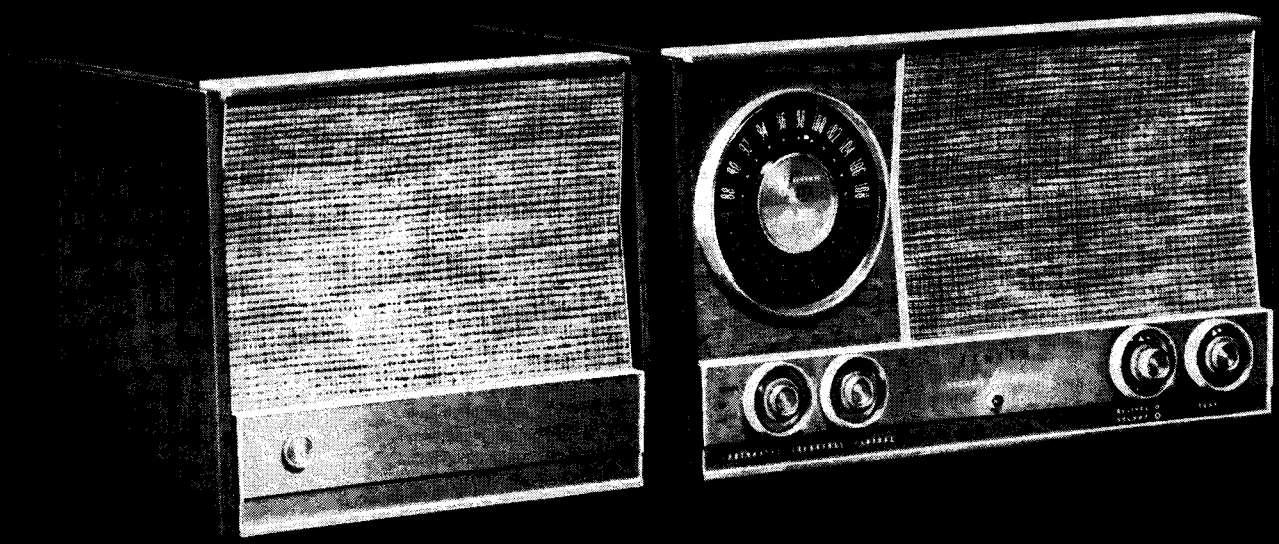

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cratic parties scattered all the way from right-of-center to left-of-center. But at the time of a presidential election, Communists and Fascists get unleashed. The outgoing president, Gronchi, was elected by a weird majority composed mostly of the extreme Right and the extreme Left. At the time the Christian Democratic Party was badly split but not nearly as badly as in the election that has just taken place.

This one was marked to an undescribable degree by intrigues and betrayals, rival ambitions, rancor, corruptive pressures, and even physical coercion. In the course of this contest, the Christian Democrats' official candidate, Segni, was fought to a standstill on eight successive ballots by nearly fourscore Christian Democratic electors. The rebels were under the generalship of the Christian Democratic premier Fanfani, who had made a ceremonial peace with Segni barely three months before and had included him in the new cabinet as foreign minister.

SEGNI's opponent (and partner in the government coalitions), the Social Democratic leader Giuseppe Saragat—one of the most intransigent anti-Communists of the democratic Left—drew his main support from assorted leftists, Communists included, plus quite a number of Fanfani followers. As a result of all this, the Christian Democratic Party, which had enjoyed a brief interlude of harmony laboriously achieved by Secretary Aldo Moro at last January's Naples convention, is once again racked by bitter factionalism. The new center-left government has suffered a heavy blow—and Fanfani an even worse one.

Actually it should not be so difficult in our country to understand what is wrong with the Christian Democratic Party: it is like our own parties, only more so. It goes from people whose equivalents here would be found to the right of Goldwater and Eastland all the way to others well to the left of anyone in our parties. Its major guarantee of unity comes from its resistance to Communist or Fascist pressures, but once every seven years the Christian Democrats can take a leave of absence from party regularity and their leaders can freely seek Communist and Fascist votes.

At the latest Christian Democratic congress the opening to the Left had been accepted by eighty per cent of the party delegates, including Segni's pivotal center faction, which was not overenthusiastic at the prospect of an alliance with the left-wing Nenni Socialists. But as they had received assurances from the party leadership that the Christian Democratic presidential candidate would be Segni, they were inclined to think that with Segni as head of state the opening to the Left could be more safely tried out. Then, as the presidential electors convened, Fanfani is said to have promised a hundred votes to the leftists' candidate, Saragat. He produced less than he promised, but most of his followers voted for Saragat and the fat was in the fire. Fanfani had probably counted on both candidates withdrawing once it became clear after the first ballots that they were stalemated. But as both are honorable men, both stubborn, they decided to stay in the race and not let Fanfani pick a compromise candidate. So the fight went on, increasingly polarized around these two good democrats who became the recipients of votes from parties they had always detested. On the final ballot Segni won with a majority of fifteen votes, his party was in shambles, and the opening to the Left seemed to have come to a premature end.

The greatest responsibility for it all rests with Fanfani. His enmity toward Segni—not unreciprocated—his desire to pick his own serviceable president, all this was predictable, but on this occasion his recklessness knew no bounds. He wanted to play a grand game of politics, not in the restricted arena of the anti-Communist and anti-Fascist parties, but in the grand, national arena where all the political forces of the nation are represented and where every elector has equal power. Fortunately for Italy—and fortunately for our alliance—any resemblance between a majority that elects a president and one that sustains a government is purely coincidental.

What next? In the past Fanfani has shown remarkable recuperative power, but it is difficult to see how he can survive his latest disaster. He has outsmarted himself and it is a pity, for he is unquestionably a man of ability who somehow has never come to realize that the straight way is the shortest and the best.

He was in too much of a rush in pushing through the opening to the Left last February, and a few wise Italian leaders had misgivings at the time—most notably Nenni himself, the leader of the left-wing Socialists in whose direction the opening had been made.

Nenni had most serious doubts about the timing. The shoals of a presidential election were only two months away, he warned. National elections would be coming a year later. All the political parties involved in the experiment would be so distracted by electoral considerations that they would have little time or freedom for the adjustments, the mutual concessions, the brave executive decisions that this difficult undertaking required. Yet Fanfani decided to go ahead and managed to receive some encouragement from well-wishers in and out of Italy, including some in our own government.

AFTER the great excitement, Italian politicians are already giving evidence of a return to their senses. The president of the republic, according to the constitution of the country, is a head of state who does not govern but whose influence can be most decisive whenever there is a cabinet crisis or a national emergency. Antonio Segni is a good and wise man, highly suited for the job. Probably more than anyone else, he was responsible for the agrarian reform in Italy and he is no man to stand in the way of further reforms. Certainly he will use his presidential powers with firmness or restraint, as the occasion demands, with quiet dignity and without brassy pomposity. His immediate predecessor, a vigorous and overactive man for his seventy-four years, had an ill-defined, restless conception of his office.

It is good to know that at the head of a major allied nation there is a man of unimpeachable integrity, with no taste for intrigue, and a most firm believer in the western alliance.

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IF YOU HAVE A CHILD—

this is the most important book you will ever read!

THE UNIQUE book described on this page may alter your entire life and affect forever the happiness of yourself and your children. When you read SUMMERHILL: *A Radical Approach to Child Rearing,* you may get the shock of your life — for this meaningful book will challenge your most cherished beliefs about how to bring up a child!

Here is the fascinating story of Summerhill, a school in England which has been in operation for forty years—perhaps the most revolutionary school in the world — *a school where children don't even attend classes unless they want to!* Yet this school produces youngsters whose academic achievement is high, and whose emotional stability is unparalleled!

A. S. Neill, Summerhill's headmaster, bluntly declares that most parents make a mess of the job of raising children. What's more, he says, our accepted ways of discipline — our traditional ideas about respect — our taken-for-granted notions about how to teach morals — are positively evil. As a result, we often produce children who are a trial to their parents, a trial to their teachers and even a trial to themselves—and who in later life throng the offices of psychiatrists.

Every parent knows the child who whines, who resentfully breaks things, who nags, who becomes painfully bored, and who has overpowering spells of unhappiness. As a parent, you are often at a loss to know whether you're too easy with your child or too hard. In despair, you wonder what is wrong with the way you handle him. Perhaps you seek counsel; but despite the talk, despite the worry, you seldom find the answer which yields an effective change.

A better way . . .

Is there a better way to rear and educate children? Yes, says Mr. Neill, the way it's done at Summerhill! Here is a school which turns out genuinely contented and productive youngsters. These boys and girls do *not* make the impossible demands on their parents that other children do. Brought up in an atmosphere of love and approval — without adult pressure — Summerhill's *self*-disciplined children grow up to be a joy to their parents and a lasting joy to themselves.

Don't misunderstand. Neill does not advocate that we permit our children to run all over us. He is positively wrathful against parents who permit children to rule the roost, to wantonly interrupt adult conversation, to stalk into the living room and turn on the television set regardless of whether that annoys others present. He doesn't believe that we should coddle our children so that they dominate their parents and others around them.

He is, however, a firm believer in freedom for the child — *freedom without license* — and makes no bones about the unconscious tyranny of parents, which most of us are woefully unaware of.

Summerhill's meaning for you . . .

This book may well make you angry, but it will also make you *think*. It will smash many of your established beliefs about child rearing, but it will replace them with positive, constructive ideas. SUMMERHILL will demand of you a searching re-examination of your role as parent, but it will reward you with new insights.

Above all, this penetrating book will help you forge enduring bonds of love between you and your child. Respect will follow — *real* respect — not veneer respect — not the obedience which comes from fear. SUMMERHILL will help you eliminate those harrowing parent-child conflicts, with all the heartaches they cause. And this great book will help you make your home a happy, serene place for raising children who will, one day, be truly free and mature adults.

Not in many years has any book won such enthusiastic acclaim from educators and professionals.

Here is what some leading educators and authors say about SUMMERHILL:

BENJAMIN FINE *(Education Editor, North Amer. Newspaper Alliance; formerly Education Editor, The New York Times; Pulitzer Prize-winning author)*

"In 25 years of reading and reviewing books on education, I have yet to find one as stimulating, exciting and challenging as the story of SUMMERHILL. Every one of its pages is filled with delightful warmth and encouragement."

ASHLEY MONTAGU *(Anthropologist and Social Biologist; author and educator)*

"Anyone who is in any way concerned with the education of children should make this book required reading."

STUART CHASE *(Author of numerous books and articles on economic and social affairs)*

"The book will, I think, stir up an argument in any intelligent family interested in education, and I hope it is widely read."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *(Pastor Emeritus, Community Church of N.Y.; Chairman of the Board, American Civil Liberties Union)*

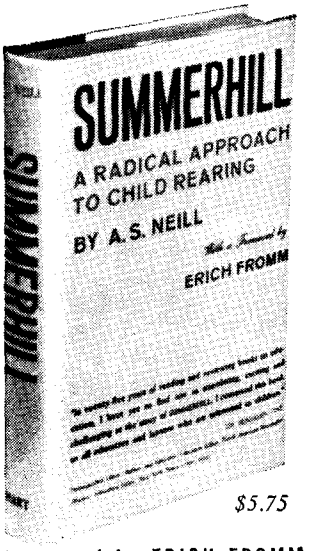
"His is a great experiment, and I believe in experiments."

DWIGHT MACDONALD *(Staff Editor for The New Yorker Magazine)*

"One reads it with the irritation, excitement, and finally sympathy, that any original idea always provokes. The trouble is that one can't help thinking that Mr. Neill is right."

HENRY MILLER *(Author of "Tropic of Cancer," "The Cosmological Eye," and numerous other books)*

"I know of no educator in the Western world who can compare with A. S. Neill. It seems to me that he stands alone. SUMMERHILL is a tiny ray of light in a world of darkness. Its aim is to create happy, contented people, not cultural misfits dedicated to war, insanity and canned knowledge."



Foreword by **ERICH FROMM**

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A. S. NEILL, ***headmaster of Summerhill, speaks on parents, children, and the education of both. Here are a few passages from the text of*** SUMMERHILL:

"If your child lies, either he is afraid of you or he is copying you. Lying parents will have lying children. If you want the truth from him, do not lie to him."

"A cynical or a spiteful parental tongue can do untold damage to a child. We all know fathers who sneer at their sons. *Butterfingers, you can't do a thing without bungling it.* Such men likewise show their hatred of their wives by constant criticism. And there are wives who rule husbands and children through brow-beating and streams of abuse."

"Girls who were spanked by their mothers grow into spankers themselves. An excellent illustration is the game in which children play school. Teacher whacks all the time."

"The future of Summerhill itself may be of little import. But the future of the Summerhill idea is of the greatest importance to humanity. New generations must be given the chance to grow in freedom. The bestowal of freedom is the bestowal of love. And only love can save the world."

The publishers of SUMMERHILL *are so sure that this book will enrich your life and help your child that they are willing to send it to you for 10 days' free reading. If you don't agree that this is the most challenging, fascinating and helpful book you have read in years, simply return it and owe nothing.*

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Our Ancient 'Firsts'

In its growth and success, the Common Market—that new economic structure destined in the near future to grow into a powerful political entity—offers the best evidence of how brilliantly the West is doing, ourselves included. Or so we have been told over and over again by administration spokesmen as well as by authoritative or authorized commentators.

At other times, another wave of equally authoritative opinion sweeps the country: the Common Market as of now is already a formidable competitor, and in this trade contest we are running a serious risk of being the losers. Therefore, it is said, it is imperative that we do our utmost, in the shortest possible time, to harmonize our trade policies and our production techniques with those of the Common Market. We must gear ourselves to the Common Market and proceed at its speed. As the President said in his talk to the UAW convention, "We must achieve what they have achieved, which is full employment in which automation and employment go hand in hand."

This is certainly a very big and very noble order, and the President, a notorious hater of rhetoric, knows what it implies. He recently went through the controversy with Big Steel, and must be aware that his first clash with private government cannot possibly be the last. He won easily against one of the major private governments or baronies in the business realm, but it would be a miracle if in the years ahead he doesn't get into more serious trouble with other baronies of business or of labor.

Bridges, it is said, are at present being re-established between government and business—presumably temporary or emergency bridges. Those between government and labor may be in need of repairs, for they have been in use for a long time, and the approaches on the labor side are getting congested. Actually, the time for institutional changes in our legal system, most particularly in the relations between the government and the economy of the nation, is, if anything, overripe.

The President knows this, to judge by the number of messages he has been sending to Congress since the beginning of its current session—some on subjects related to catching up with Europe, trade or foreign aid, some on nearly perennial issues, like urban affairs, transportation, education, and the like.

In all those messages, as in most of the speeches he makes, the President echoes sentiments shared by the great majority of the people. We are all against human suffering at home and abroad, against government dictation of prices and wages, against overextension of governmental controls, although we differ among ourselves as to the measure of government regulation or setting of standards that may be required in such fields as education, or the care of the aged.

The common cause of the many desiderata, the many contradictory demands on our government and on our economy and on our sentiments, lies in a single fact: this country's age. It was the first to give itself enduring democratic institutions, the first to develop industrialism over the vast expanse of a continent, the first to create a common market. All those firsts had to be paid for sometime, and the time is at hand. Yet even in this conjuncture, luck is on our side: if we have the will, there is still enough resilience in our economy and in our institutions for the extensive job of modernization that is required of us.

The Common Market countries that are the heart of Europe have known devastation on a colossal scale; then the Marshall Plan; then the outgrowing of nationalism, and then the creativeness of an economy that was bound to be the most advanced if for no other reason than its very magnitude and the room that devastation had made for the latest technology. Europe had also the background of a common civilization enriched by the heritage of its diversified cultures.

Maybe one of the advantages of the Common Market is the fact that it is being built functionally on foundations laid mostly with the assistance of our country, once the rubble of war was cleared away. There is a grandiose, powerful quality in the economic framework Europe has erected: it is like a house being built from the ground up—and the roof is not yet there.

Our country, too, is undergoing a process of rebuilding, but from the roof down. This process, to be properly completed, requires imagination and daring. It will take a very firm and very farsighted leadership, patient in the handling of details and at the same time focused on a central aim. The aim may well be, as the President put it, that of catching up with Europe and reaching the fullest development of our economy, the fullest employment, and the fullest possible measure of social justice. We must be under no illusion, however, that all this may be done quickly with a series of disconnected calls to action. The newest frontier is now in Europe, while the task for our country is to resettle the past.

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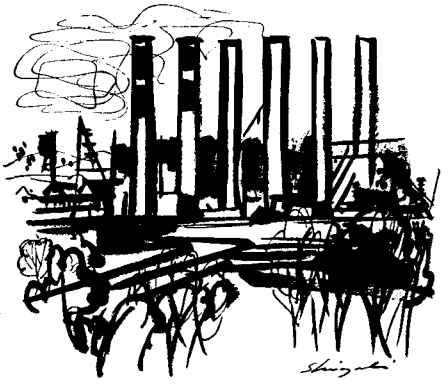
Management, Labor, And the Public Interest

BERNARD D. NOSSITER

DESPITE Roger Blough's modest profession of political naïveté, there are few industrialists more experienced in the ways of Washington. For nearly twenty-five years, Blough has been shuttling between New York and Washington on errands of a more or less political nature. Confident that he knew and understood the ways of Washington, Blough was obviously surprised by the President's reaction to the announcement of an increase in the price of steel. His experience in the capital had led him to believe that Big Steel was well-nigh invulnerable.

As a young lawyer, Blough had seen the explosive Temporary National Economic Committee hearings on steel and other corporate powers fade away into the archives. After the war, he was at the side of U.S. Steel's then president, Benjamin Fairless, when Fairless rejected President Truman's proposal of a $2.50-a-ton increase and then a $4 increase. Blough had seen Mr. Truman agree after a four-week strike to Fairless's settlement for $5, and Blough had seen price and wage controls wrecked as a result. He had also seen the Kennedy administration backtrack. When Blough became chairman of the Business Advisory Council last year, Secretary of Commerce Luther Hodges insisted on changing the club's rules to make it less secret and more representative. Blough then severed the BAC from the government and changed its name to the Business Council. At that point, Mr. Kennedy stepped in, invited Blough to the White House for a reconciliation session, and assured him that the council was welcome under the name and rules it chose.

In short, Blough knew no reason to assume that the President would be as angry about a $6 rise in the price of steel as he was. Nor had Blough any reason to believe, judging from the past, that White House anger would make much difference. In steel, as in many other branches of modern industry, a few of the major producers control half or more of the total production, and each of the giants therefore inevitably exercises a considerable control over prices. Typically, the largest firm is the leader and the semi-giants more or less willingly follow



its lead. So prices can be raised even though demand is falling—which was the case on April 10 when Blough's firm announced the $6 increase.

Even if demand continues to fall, as it has continued falling in steel, a price increase can usually be made to stick. Supply is simply tailored to the reduced demand by cutting production. This often means fewer jobs, of course, but throughout his career Blough has many times seen the economic factors of price, output, and employment determined by what President Kennedy angrily called a handful of men. Indeed, there is good reason to believe that Blough's principal motive in announcing an across-the-board increase just a few days after the signing of a labor contract widely hailed as noninflationary was to demonstrate that corporate managers, not the President of the United States, run the American economy.

Where to Get Capital

Just how accurate was the picture Blough drew of the American steel industry's needs and prospects during the recent debate with President Kennedy? In the course of his arguments, the steel executive invented a new concept in economics—the rubber-band theory of pricing. Blough has been contending that U.S. Steel had to raise prices in order to increase profits to pay for more modern plants so that the company could meet its competition more effectively. He never exactly completed the argument, but he could have meant only that modernized plants would lower production costs and thereby enable the steel industry to become more competitive by reducing prices. In short, Blough argues that he wants to raise prices in order to lower them.

This rubber-band theory may strike many people, including some economists, as laughable. Yet there has been an uncritical acceptance of some details in Blough's brief, particularly his contention that the steel industry is inefficient and needs money to invest. U.S. Steel now en-

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joys a break-even point—the point at which sales revenues cover costs—at an estimated thirty per cent of plant capacity. This means that when seventy per cent of the corporation's mills (and a substantial portion of its work force) are idle, it still does not lose money. If and when the operating rate climbs, profits climb with it. So, if the steel industry reduced prices, it is logical to suppose that orders would rise. Production and employment would climb, and profits would certainly not suffer.

Blough's cry about lacking funds to invest is contradicted by those dull tables in his own company's annual report that nobody bothers to read. In the past ten years, U.S. Steel's own figures show that the value of its plant and equipment—after subtracting wear and tear—has almost doubled, from $1.6 billion to $2.9 billion.

THIS does not necessarily mean that the lawyers, bankers, and accountants who run Big Steel are investing their profits wisely. In fact, U.S. Steel has been slow to adopt technological advances employed by other firms here and abroad. One such is the important oxygen converter process. Developed by the Austrians, it has been adopted by Jones & Laughlin and Great Lakes Steel. Bethlehem is now considering installation of an oxygen converter, even though, as its controller explained in the April *Fortune*, "We don't want to invest in a facility unless it will return, on the average, twenty per cent before taxes, operating at sixty to seventy per cent of capacity."

In any case, the industry as a whole is in line for tax savings of more than $100 million a year for investment. Hodges had estimated U.S. Steel's share alone at $45 million. This would flow from Mr. Kennedy's plans to grant faster write-offs on machinery and his proposed investment credit.

The steel industry could raise its investment capital in textbook fashion, by selling shares of stock. But companies like U.S. Steel prefer to raise capital out of their profits. This practically amounts to making involuntary investors out of customers, who are taxed to supply capital but receive no dividend. U.S. Steel's shareholders get the benefits without investing any extra funds. The asset value underlying their shares rises as customers put up the capital by paying higher prices.

There has hardly been any shortage of investment capital in recent years. Investors have fallen all over themselves to buy shares in new and even flighty companies with the most unlikely prospects. One is led to suspect that U.S. Steel, like many established corporations, stays out of the stock-starved capital market in order to keep up the price of its outstanding shares.

One of Blough's weakest economic arguments is that rising costs have eaten into his profits. He likes to talk about the increased costs per hour of production. But steel mills produce tons of steel, not man-hours, and the relevant cost figure is cost per ton. Thanks to rising productivity of both labor and machines, these costs have been essentially stable for three years, and will now probably decline.

Up to 1959, costs per ton were rising. But according to Gardner Means, whose new book, *Pricing Power and the Public Interest*, offers the most detailed study of this phenomenon, the increase in steel prices was much greater. Moreover, profits rise as sales increase. U.S. Steel would thus stand to gain and would be unlikely to lose if it abandoned its policy of high prices and limited output. It seems clear that the economy would gain, too. As output increased, so would employment. And so would material abundance, another name for economic growth.

The President's Arsenal

How can sound economic growth be brought about? The problem of inducing or compelling responsible decision-making by the managers of corporate power is one of the most perplexing and least discussed on the American scene. But thanks to the recent steel crisis, more and more people are at least facing the fact that the problem exists and realizing that it cannot be solved by pat phrases about the forces of competition and the triumph of the marketplace.

Despite the antitrust laws that have been on the books for seventy-two years, most of American industry is marked by oligopoly—a handful of producers accounting for the bulk of an industry's output. This leaves a competition of sorts, but it is neither classical nor reliable.

Public regulation has its drawbacks too. It tends to stifle initiative and places a premium on the safe and familiar. More often than not, regulatory bodies become the captive tools of the industries they are supposed to oversee.

Organized labor and some legislators support a third approach—a form of indirect regulation. Dominant corporations would be required to give notice of their plans to raise prices and explain their reasons in detail before an independent public body. The theory here is that the public body could render a judgment that would mobilize public opinion as Mr. Kennedy did in the steel crisis. There are many difficulties with this technique: What criteria would the public body use to make its judgments? How could corporations respond quickly to changing situations if they had to wait on a hearing process? Would any large corporation ever lower a price if it knew that it would have to go through the lengthy process of justifying any future increase?

Another ingenious tack has been taken by Means in his new book. He would pay Blough and other managers special tax-privileged bonuses for running the giants in a manner consistent with the public interest. But here again, the problem of defining the public interest in terms of standards of output, pricing and technological inventiveness is enormous.

The Kennedy administration, improvising as it goes along, has tended to borrow a little bit from all of these approaches and rely exclusively on no single one. The antitrust weapon is used as a threat and working instrument to attack illegal price fixing. Public opinion has been mobilized by the President and effectively centered on specific targets—steel wages and prices this year. Regulation has not been abandoned, although Mr. Kennedy has spoken some brave words about lifting some of its stifling consequences for the railroads. There is even a suggestion

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of Means's idea in the tax-credit and depreciation-allowance legislation. (This was especially true in the original version of the tax credit, which provided greater cuts for firms that invested more than the amount they were depreciating.)

More Gee Than Haw

The President's economic advisers and Labor Secretary Arthur Goldberg are giving more and more thought these days to the problem of making the public interest felt in the decisions of unions and managements. Goldberg's creation of the tripartite labor-management advisory committee is a cautious step in this direction. Here, away from the collective-bargaining table, carefully chosen union and corporation leaders, with a leavening of public members, meet monthly and attempt to fashion broad statements on wages and prices and other economic problems. The areas of agreement have been limited so far, but Goldberg finds even these tentative beginnings hopeful. A special conference on May 21-22 has been designed to carry the process one step further, to impress a wider group of leaders with the administration view and encourage a continuing three-sided conversation. Although there are few rational guides for making decisions about prices conform to the public interest, Goldberg is not upset about this either. A lawyer, not an economist, he has an almost mystical faith that something useful must emerge as long as people keep talking.

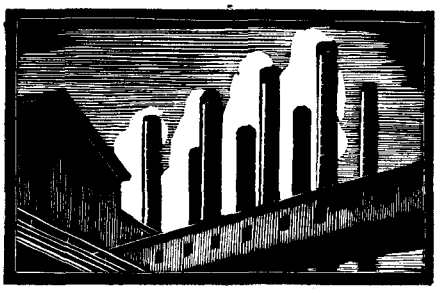
Another aspect of this same approach is embodied in a little-known experiment conducted by the President's Council of Economic Advisers last year. The council drew up a model of the economy in 1963—how much investment and consumption there would be in major sectors if full employment was reached. This model was given to business and labor economists for comment and analysis. In time, the council hopes that agreement of sorts will be reached on the shape of these models and that this in turn will influence plans and decisions by industry and labor.

There is curious lack of symmetry in the administration's approach to these problems. Despite the role it played in the steel drama, the White House is consciously pressing most of its weight on union wage decisions, not corporate pricing practices. A key administration aide has said bluntly, "Our focus is on taking the wage push out of the wage-price spiral."

This means that the administration regards wage costs as the crucial determinant of prices. Restrain this wage cost, the administration and Blough himself would say, and prices will take care of themselves. But as the steel episode demonstrated, this analysis is too simple. The managers of concentrated administered-price industries have the power—and they have exercised it—to lift prices independently of wage costs.

This lack of balance is reflected in the report of the Council of Economic Advisers, which pays respect to the market power of corporations but offers only generalized guides to pricing. The report's wage guides, on the other hand, are detailed and buttressed by precise statistics that leave little doubt about the administration's view of appropriate bargaining terms. Moreover, the administration has taken pains to impress the wage guides on important union leaders; even some economic policymakers in the administration have said they are unaware that the economic report discusses price guides.

To be sure, the fact that wage guides are publicized does not mean that all unions will find them much more than an embarrassment. And in the building trades, national union presidents could solemnly swear to inscribe the guides on their hearts and it wouldn't make much difference at all to the pay of a bricklayer in Keokuk or an electrician in New York. Contracts for the construction industry are worked out locally, not at the national level. Trying to influence collective bargaining in these areas will be considerably tougher than influencing the forthcoming national negotiations in such industries as aluminum, railroads, and aerospace.



Furthermore, if the rate of economic growth continues to lag and unemployment remains high, the administration will undoubtedly be forced to acknowledge the link between these conditions and oligopolistic pricing. There is no getting around the fact that the practice of administering prices to a level that reduces potential profitable orders means fewer jobs and less goods.

In attempting to represent the public interest as a third force in wage and price decisions, the administration has embarked on a road relatively untraveled in peacetime. In Europe, however, this venture is well under way.

In Sweden, for instance, the use of reason and government pressure to temper decision-making has worked with some success. Each year the Swedish government projects the economy's probable behavior in major sectors for one or two years into the future. This detailed economic report is studied by Sweden's all-embracing labor federation and the comprehensive management association. Technicians from both organizations construct their own forecasts. With these documents before them, officials of the two groups then sit down to determine what general level of wages will be consistent with price stability and Sweden's balance-of-payments needs. This year, for example, they agreed that the economy could afford a five per cent wage increase spread over 1962 and 1963. Individual unions and managements are left free to bargain and establish prices as they please, but the national guidelines are generally persuasive.

Such techniques can be made to work most successfully in small nations with full employment and comparatively equal distribution of income. The United States scarcely fits that description. But the recent attempt of a few powerful leaders in the steel industry to override the public interest may hasten the day when some new techniques for bringing the public interest to bear on the price and wage decisions of private power centers will be tried here too.

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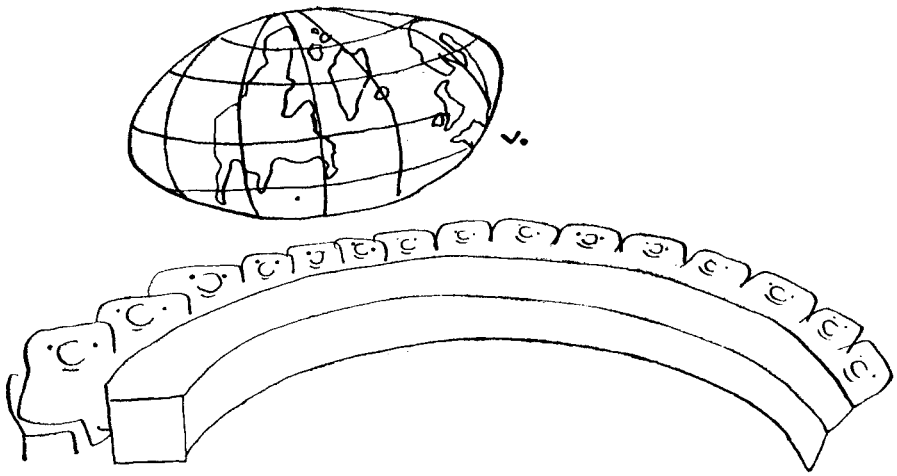

The Seattle Settlement

A Cold War Nightmare

MEG GREENFIELD

On the day the U.S.-Soviet agreement to neutralize Seattle was announced (an American mayor, a Soviet police chief, and an uncommitted city manager), the New York *Times* took a moderate position. "The settlement in Seattle," said the *Times*, "can by no means be considered a victory for the West. At the same time, there is no need for despair. The negotiators have made the best of a bad situation." The *Daily News*, while equally grim, was a good deal less optimistic about the prospects for Seattle's new government. Under a picture of a fanged bear, blood dripping from its paws, the *News* announced the addition of the Chinook, Aleutian, and Algonquin-Wakasha tribes to the list of captive nations. It called for a full-scale investigation of the agreements at Potsdam and Yalta as well as the Oregon Treaty of 1846, which, it felt, had paved the way for the present surrender. "Why did President Polk back down on his original position and accept the 49th parallel?" the *News* wanted to know. "Who was advising him?" The New York *Post*, on the other hand, after briefly reiterating its opposition to Communism, hailed the settlement as a step toward the reduction of world tensions. The rest of its editorial was devoted to an attack on those who had opposed the agreement. "We are not surprised," said the *Post*, "that the same people who clamored for war over Alaska, who tried to prevent a peaceful settlement in Canada, and who were willing to risk nuclear annihilation for the sake of our 'rights' in Seattle, are currently crying 'sellout.' Before they shed any more crocodile tears, we suggest that they show equal concern for the plight of the Negroes in the South and the fact that this country has yet to provide adequate medical care for its aged."

Although the settlement in Seattle was not particularly popular, most people appear to have accepted it as an inevitable result of the division of Canada. The city, it was generally agreed, had become, if not strategically indefensible, at least quite difficult to defend. Neither the "right" wing nor the "left" wing, as they were called, recommended a local course of action which the right wing felt would be too expensive and the left wing too dangerous. Their debate centered rather on which of two global strategies to pursue. The right wing argued that Seattle could be defended only by a nuclear attack on Moscow. To those who pointed out that Seattle and much of the rest of the world would perish as a result, they replied that the country must never lose its faith in its ideals. The left wing, however, maintained that Seattle's only defense lay in a stepping up of long-term credits to the newly emerging nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. When asked how such a course would save Seattle, they replied that the city would never be secure in any meaningful sense until America had won the hearts and minds of men, most of whom, quite understandably, were interested only in the rapid industrialization of their own countries. It would be tragic, they contended, if Americans continued to misunderstand the nature of the threat.

As far as can be determined, the same arguments had been offered at the time of the Alaskan and Canadian crises, though with somewhat less acrimony, since unlike Seattle they were not part of what then was considered the "heartland." While the initial harassment of Alaska and Mr. Khrushchev's subsequent note had met with national outrage, in the end the government's plan of resistance didn't receive much support and the settlement proceeded fairly quickly. The right wing appears to have been preoccupied throughout the crisis with an investigation of loyalty in the armed services, which got under way when a copy of Lord Keynes's *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* was discovered on the shelf of an Air Force library in Thule. The left wing, on the other hand, began to waver when it became clear that uncommitted opinion (which had been impressed by Mr. Khrushchev's documentation of the atrocities committed on Eskimos and Indians by early American fur traders) would not support the American position.

The left wing then focused its attention on the need for negotiations. There was, they argued, *some* validity to Mr. Khrushchev's claim that Alaska, separated from Russia by

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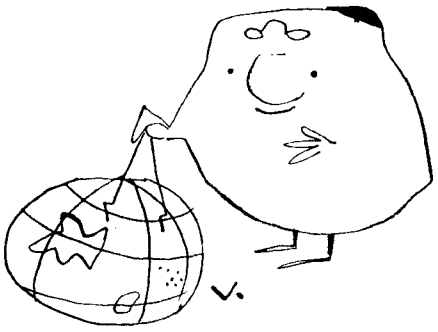
a very few miles and a former part of its territory as well, had traditionally been considered essential to Russian security. While it was not necessary to agree with everything he said (the claim to Canada was the sheerest nonsense), Americans did have a tendency to view things in terms of black and white. It was necessary, they felt, to try to understand how America's actions must look to the Russians, who lived in a closed society and were basically a suspicious people. The sudden (and unilateral) decision to incorporate Alaska into the Union, the establishment of Air Force bases there, and the construction of the Distant Early Warning System could well have given rise to Soviet fears, and the government's refusal to enter into talks was certain to confirm them. Those who said the Russians could not be trusted to keep agreements, they added, always failed to mention that it was in fact the Russians who had abided by the treaty of 1824 by withdrawing from the Pacific Northwest to Alaska, while the United States, in violation of the treaty, had subsequently taken over Alaska. To those who pointed out that Alaska had, after all, been sold to the United States, they replied that at this late date in history and under the shadow of the bomb, no useful purpose would be served by going back and haggling over who had started what. There was obviously right on both sides and the point was to reduce the danger of war. The negotiations which were finally undertaken ended with equal concessions from both sides: the United States agreed to withdraw from Alaska, and the Soviet Union abandoned its claim to Canada.

THERE IS evidence that the Soviet Union would have abided by the agreement if growing unrest in Alaska had not made the existence of the borderline with Canada, as the next note put it, an "intolerable provocation." While the Soviet threats against England and Canada were deplored on all sides in America, the right wing considered them primarily an effort to divert American attention from certain revelations that were finally beginning to come out in the Thule librarian hearings. Accordingly, the Right responded with a more or less routine call for cutbacks in government spending and the establishment of a joint Congressional committee to determine whether something about the captive nations might not be worked into the pledge to the American flag. It was greatly disturbed, nonetheless, when the Canadian government entered into talks with the Soviet Union, whereas left-wing opinion was considerably heartened by this development.

From the beginning the left wing had insisted that the Soviet Union was not wholly to be blamed for resenting the presence of a NATO power on its border. Never mind how the border had come to be shared, they replied to their critics. Rightly or wrongly, the Russians had traditionally feared the British, and not entirely without reason. While the Crimean War might seem a long time ago to most Americans, the Russian people had not forgotten it. It was pointed out moreover that Mr. Khrushchev, who was willing to accept a division of Canada, represented a moderate group in the Kremlin. Recently returned visitors reported that there was a "tough" group whose demands were more far-reaching, and it was questionable how long the moderates would be able to retain their power in the face of western intransigence that was proving their policy failure.



When the settlement came, the right wing merely accepted it as evidence that Canada had been an unreliable ally, while the Left expressed gratification that peace had been maintained. East and West Canada could now engage in a peaceful competition, they said, to see whose system worked best.

The note calling for the "return" of Seattle to the rightful West Canadian government seems to have taken the country by surprise. Its first effect was to throw the right wing into immeasurable confusion. Since it was an article of their faith that the threat to the country was primarily a domestic one, it had been expected that they would respond with vigor to an attack on the country itself. But the President's request for funds and authority to defend Seattle and the state of Washington raised the hitherto unforeseen problem of Federal aid and intervention in state affairs. An expert on Communism (formerly a Communist himself) testified before Congress that the Soviet attack on Seattle was little more than an effort to trick the United States into heavy government expenditure and massive Federal intervention, thereby weakening its system and paving the way for an eventual takeover. He backed up his testimony with a somewhat unfamiliar quotation from V. I. Lenin outlining the strategy to be applied in the Seattle-Tacoma area. Congress responded by directing that only local National Guard units be employed in the city's defense. Congress did pass a resolution, however, expressing American sympathy with the brave citizens of Seattle.

ALTHOUGH the right wing and the left wing had been united in their opposition to negotiations over Seattle, as the situation there worsened, it was pointed out by an increasing number of left-wing spokesmen that Seattle had not been wholly without fault. As one senator put it in a television interview, the West Canadian government's professed fear of "militarists" and "revanchists" might have been overstated, but it was also true that at the time of the treaty establishing the Canadian border at the 49th parallel, it was the Seattle settlers who had continued to cry, "54-40 or fight!" The well-documented presence of certain members of the John Birch Society among the officers at Sand Point Naval Air Station, the existence of the Boeing Aircraft plant with its heavy missile contracts, the emphasis on the accomplishments of NASA rather than on cultural pursuits at the Seattle World's Fair, might well have reawakened Canada's traditional fear of its southern neighbor. The senator, the *Post* commented

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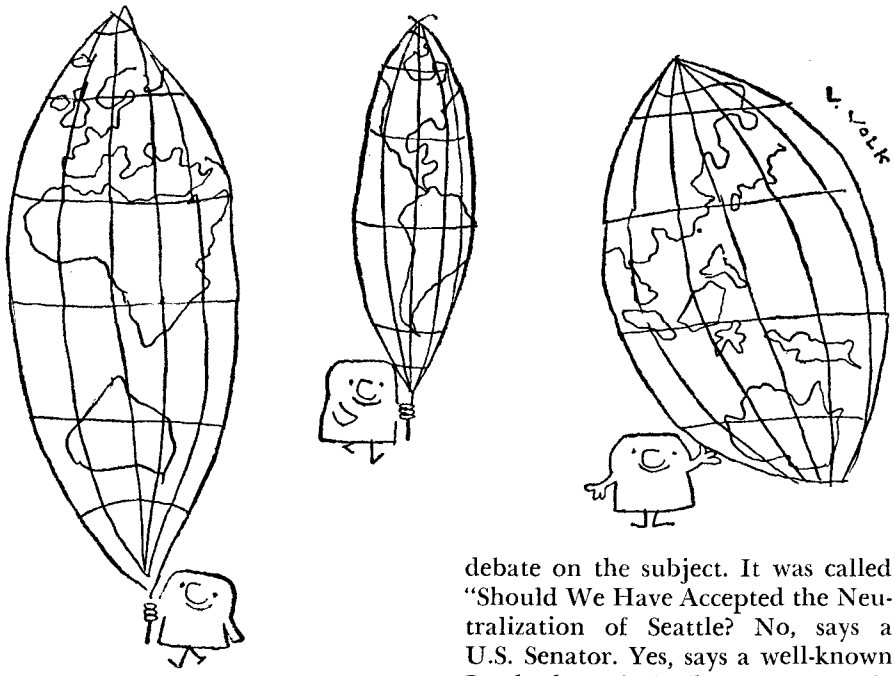
the next day, had said something that badly needed saying.

Shortly after, in a little-read but influential journal, a law professor observed that the division of Canada had to some extent invalidated the treaty which established the present border, prior to which Seattle had been included in what was presently West Canada, which the Russians had at one time also controlled as far as the Nootka Peninsula. While he did not judge the Soviet-West Canadian claims as such, he did raise certain questions as to the legality of the United States presence there and ventured that tensions might be reduced by talks strictly limited to renegotiating the presently ill-defined U.S. rights in the city.

As a result of its deteriorating strategic position and the growing charges of inflexibility, the United States government finally agreed to go to talks on Seattle (in Jakarta) if the principle were accepted in advance that it had no wish to be there. It refused to discuss any subject other than whether or not it would negotiate. After 423 sessions, the talks appeared to be breaking down on this question. The *Times* called for the West to leave no stone unturned in finding a way to reopen the talks if they should break down, while also strengthening the free world's defenses. The *News* called for a withdrawal of recognition of the Soviet government, and the *Post* replied that even if the talks had not produced an agreement, they had been useful in showing that negotiations were possible and in setting the precedent for further negotiations. The talks, in fact, were saved when the United States unexpectedly agreed to an Indonesian compromise proposal whereby the Soviet Union would accept the fact that the United States had not wanted to come to the talks if the United States would agree "in principle" that it was in fact there. A year and a half later the Soviet Union introduced the neutralization plan, which represented a considerable softening of its position.

It is unlikely that the compromise measure would have been accepted if a newly elected administration had not been eager to find a way out of the Seattle crisis so that it could turn its attention to the rapidly worsening situation in Idaho. The country was fairly evenly divided over what to do, but ultimately the administration's position was supported. A full-page ad in the *Times,* signed by two hundred of the nation's leading behavioral scientists, urged the administration to accept the compromise without further delay. Under a heading "LET'S FACE FACTS, MR. PRESIDENT," the signers urged that the United States not risk the annihilation of mankind to support the corrupt and reactionary régime in Seattle. They called for a redefinition of what the government meant by "free world," citing certain excesses of law enforcement in the crushing of the Wobblies in Seattle in 1919. "What do we mean by 'free'?" they asked, and reminded the President that Seattle had encouraged the rise of the corrupt Teamsters Union and its discredited leader, Dave Beck. "If we have learned anything from our experience in Seattle," the ad concluded, "it is that we can no longer afford to support such allies in the name of 'anti-Communism.'" It demanded a complete break with the corrupt Democratic machinery in New York and the autocratic one-party governments of the South —"before it is too late."



ABOUT A MONTH after the plan had been agreed to and feeling was not running so high, the New York *Times* Sunday magazine carried a debate on the subject. It was called "Should We Have Accepted the Neutralization of Seattle? No, says a U.S. Senator. Yes, says a well-known Psychotherapist." The senator, speaking for the right wing, said little that was new. He deplored the Seattle settlement and eloquently defended his vote to cut defense funds. He called for a bold new policy of nuclear aggression abroad and cutbacks in spending at home. The psychotherapist, speaking for the left wing, argued that despite the weekend's skirmish on the truce control team (about which too few facts were yet known to make a judgment), he felt the Soviet Union was as eager as the United States to turn Seattle into model of international co-operation. He was convinced that Mr. Khrushchev did not want war. He needed peace, in fact, because the Russian people, who were not so different from the American people, after all, were every day demanding more consumer goods. His only fear was that America might lose a peaceful competition because the Russians were a highly dedicated people, unlike Americans, who were far too concerned with consumer goods. It was, many felt, a compelling argument but not in accord with the temper of the times. For, oddly enough, both the senator and the psychotherapist said it took courage to say what he was saying, since each seemed to feel his views ran counter to American opinion. Both said, however, that the times required such courage. The psychotherapist added that they also required imagination.

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A British White Paper On the Thin Red Line

H. A. DeWEERD

If we regard the United States and the Soviet Union as the "original" nuclear powers, Britain qualifies as the first "*n*th country." It tested an A-bomb in 1952, an H-bomb in 1958, and developed its own delivery capability. In 1957 the then new Macmillan government published a five-year outline of its defense policy. This was the famous Duncan Sandys "New Look" which announced that Britain would rely on nuclear weapons not only to deter but also to fight wars if deterrence failed.

Five years later, in the 1962 Defence White Paper, these decisions were reconsidered in the light of what has happened in the world, a process that revealed a good deal about the costs, the disappointments, and the embarrassments of trying to be an "*n*th country" in a period of big-power nuclear plenty.

Many Britons have come to believe that possession of an independent nuclear capability has not paid off in either the political or the military realm. There have recently been a number of suggestions about how to dispose of Britain's nuclear weapons and V-bombers (so called from their names: Valiant, Vulcan, and Victor). Lord Russell proposes to destroy them. Professor P.M.S. Blackett proposes to put them under joint British-American control. Julian Critchley, a Conservative M.P., proposes to put them under the Supreme Allied Command, Europe (SACEUR). Other members suggest using them as a nucleus of a Western European deterrent force. The Labour Party proposes to restrict the V-bombers to a non-nuclear role, leaving the employment of nuclear weapons entirely to the United States.

Aside from general discontent with a predominantly nuclear defense policy, a number of developments combined to force a review of British defense policy in 1962. One was the cancellation of the Blue Streak missile in 1960, an event that raised doubts about Britain's ability to produce the complicated weapons of modern strategic systems. A second was Exercise Spearhead, the 1961 NATO war game, which demonstrated the imprudence of assuming that an army trained for nuclear war could be counted upon to operate effectively in a conventional role. Third, there was the government's inability to reinforce the British Army of the Rhine (BAOR) during the 1961-1962 Berlin crisis.

The first two developments were too complicated for the average Briton to understand, but the arithmetic of military manpower was not. Anyone who could read a newspaper knew that BAOR was short of technical and administrative troops and that this development stemmed from the defense decisions of 1957, which ended National Service in 1961 and called for an all-professional army of between 165,000 and 180,000 men. The government assumed that volunteers would come forward in the necessary numbers. But while the Navy and the Royal Air Force have continued to attract volunteers since 1957, the Army has not. It has been progressively reduced in size to the point where, according to some observers, it would have been unable to conduct sustained operations either in Kuwait or Berlin, the two crisis areas of 1961 where the British Army was involved.

Great Expectations

Britain's motives in developing its own nuclear deterrent force had been many and complex.

¶ There was the McMahon Act, which barred Britain from American information on nuclear weapons until it had developed a capability of its own.

¶ There was an assumption that British prestige would be increased through the possession of nuclear weapons and carriers.

¶ British leaders believed that their ability to influence the actions of the United States would be enhanced by such a capability.

¶ Though Britain expected to fight alongside its allies in a future war, it was thought useful to have the means to deal with targets of primary concern to Britain itself.

¶ There was the momentum of British nuclear research, already far advanced, and the hope that in addition to the weapons themselves such research might lead to a cheap source of industrial power.

¶ The government hoped for substantial economies in the defense estimates as a result of the introduction of nuclear weapons and concepts.

The 1957 White Paper not only placed primary reliance on nuclear weapons for deterring and fighting wars, it also dropped plans for future generations of aircraft in favor of missiles. It speeded the construction of a British force of medium jet bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons deep into western Russia. These base-bound, limited-range, subsonic V-bombers probably never numbered as many as two hundred, but they have been described as possessing capabilities "equal to any in the world."

To back up its V-bombers Britain,

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in co-operation with the United States, based sixty Thor IRBMs in the United Kingdom. They were set up on RAF bases without hardening or concealment, where their presence provoked some criticism and protest. The nuclear warheads for these missiles remained under U.S. ownership and control, but the decision to launch was to be made jointly by the two governments.

As a follow-up weapon to Thor, the British also undertook to develop their own ballistic missile, the Blue Streak, on the highest priority. This missile, designed to be launched from an underground shelter, was assumed to be free from the principal shortcomings of Thor. Long before Blue Streak could be developed, however, Soviet achievements in the field of space technology and missile accuracy rendered it obsolete. Blue Streak was turned over to peaceful "space" activities, and its first flight is now anticipated in 1965.

THE British experience with Blue Streak was a traumatic one. It drove home the astronomical costs and rapid obsolescence of first-generation missile systems. It led Professor Norman Gibbs, a British military historian, to write:

"The experience of Britain during the past five or six years suggests that in the West, no single nation other than the United States can continue to afford to create and maintain an effective deterrent of its own."

Concurrently with the abandonment of Blue Streak for military purposes it was announced that the operational life of the V-bombers would be extended by equipping them with Blue Steel, a short-range standoff bomb, and with Sky Bolt, an air-to-ground ballistic missile—after it was developed in the United States. But with or without Sky Bolt, the ministry of defense in 1960 asserted that the V-bombers could make a "contribution to the western deterrent" until 1970. Thus, as one writer put it, British defense capabilities were established "by declaration."

Apart from the cost factor, two important developments underlay the British re-evaluation. One was the end of the era of nuclear scarcity for the Soviet Union and the United States. The second was the construction of a formidable bomber and an emerging missile capability in the Soviet Union.

Even before the 1957 defense policy had been adopted, Britain had some basis for doubting the usefulness of nuclear weapons in certain situations. They could not be used against Nasser during the Suez crisis. Nor did their possession help to shield Britain from pressure by the United States and the United Nations. By 1962, outside official circles, the idea of relying completely on a nuclear weapons system had very few supporters.

The Botch on the Rhine

Along with doubts about the nuclear deterrents came increasing public concern over the plight of the British Army. A 1959 report of the director of munitions and stores described the British Army as being, in relation to its small size and large commitments, "one of the worst equipped in the world." The director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in London deplored the fact that while in 1959-1960 all the equipment of the Soviet ground forces in Eastern Europe had been made since the Second World War, only forty per cent of the British Army of the Rhine's equipment was as modern. The only area in which impressive gains were made prior to 1962 was in increased airlift, but even here the situation left much to be desired.

Not only were British forces described as short of modern weapons, but the number of men progressively decreased. This weakening of Britain's forces allocated to NATO was accompanied by assurances that tactical nuclear weapons would make up the difference in Western Europe. But questions were raised about where these weapons would come from and who would control them. In 1961, Colonel George Wigg observed that the assertion had been made since 1958 that British battalions in West Germany would be supported by tactical nuclear weapons. Then he added: "But these weapons did not exist then and they do not exist now. We have three composite artillery regiments in Germany, plus two regiments of Corporals. They are atomic tactical weapons, but the warheads are American. . . ."

In 1961, Exercise Spearhead took place in West Germany against a background of American attempts to build up conventional NATO forces in Western Europe to a point where they could impose a "pause" on a Red Army invasion of Western Europe without an immediate resort to the use of nuclear weapons. British newspapers reporting on the exercise called attention to the contrast between the defense ministry's statements about BAOR's capability to fight with conventional weapons and those of its commanders about the training of the forces. An editorial in the *Times* of London of October 17, 1961, read as follows: ". . . the unequivocal statements of General [Sir Charles] Jones and his staff, together with the tactics of the formations taking part in the exercise, have made it clear that the British Army of the Rhine is still being trained to use tactical nuclear weapons from the beginning of the operations in Europe."

Repeated "explanations" by General Jones, who commands the British corps assigned to NATO, and by the defense ministry did not deal with the *Times* correspondent's flat assertion: "BAOR is clearly incapable of defending itself even for a short time without nuclear support."

THE GOVERNMENT'S preparations to reinforce BAOR if fighting should break out over Berlin came under heavy attack. Sir Fitzroy MacLean, a Conservative M.P. with years of government experience, complained in the Commons on November 1:

"Recent statements by Ministers are full of contradictions. For instance, we were told last week by the Minister of Defence that there were 'no major deficiencies in BAOR.' We were told soon after by the Prime Minister that BAOR was 'not up to strength' and 'cannot be wholly balanced without mobilization'—as if there were time for mobilization nowadays. Then the Secretary of State for War has denied that regular recruiting was failing. 'Far from it,' he said. But the next day a War Office spokesman said that recruiting had fallen short and as an expedient we were going to the Fiji Islands and the Seychelles for recruits."

Given widespread public manifestations of dissatisfaction with basic

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features of British defense policy, one might think that the Conservative government would have abandoned the 1957 defense concept. But the Macmillan government has supported this concept for five years; its prestige is heavily committed. Furthermore, up to 1960 the Labour Party had favored an independent strategic deterrent for Britain. It could not therefore make much of a case against the defense ministry, and the government not only came through the defense debates of 1960-1961 without much embarrassment, but—until the by-elections of 1962—seemed stronger than ever.

Strategic Reduction

The 1962 Defence White Paper issued late in February is a transitional document preparing for future changes rather than one announcing major alterations of policy. Its least surprising feature was the sections dealing with the V-bomber force and military manpower. As had been widely predicted, there was a strong declaration of confidence in the V-bombers as a "credible" contribution to the western deterrent of general war. It could hardly be otherwise; the defense ministry could not admit that the course it had been following for several years was wrong. Thus both conscription and selective service were again rejected as ways of increasing the size of the Army.

The 1962 White Paper observed that the West's "undoubted superiority in the capacity to deliver strategic nuclear weapons" has declined since 1957 but has not disappeared. Governments can no longer choose to have either a "full-scale conventional war or a limited war without risking the use of nuclear weapons." Therefore the prevention of war rather than the preparation for a long drawn-out conventional war must be regarded as vital. As if acting in support of these statements, an increase of 760,000 pounds was authorized in funds allocated to civil defense for next year.

IN SIMPLE TERMS, these are the major assumptions of the defense ministry in 1962:

¶ British strategic nuclear forces help to deter general war.

¶ These strategic forces, backed up by balanced conventional forces, will help to deter limited wars with conventional weapons.

¶ Aside from strategic deterrent forces, the major requirement is for forces and equipment to deal with brushfire-type limited wars in areas not immediately vital to either East or West.

If the foregoing assumptions are realistic, then the British system of overseas bases and garrisons should be reduced.

Despite the Conservative Party's distaste for reductions of this kind, the defense ministry proposed that British responsibilities in the Middle East and Far East should be met by maintaining tri-service bases at Aden and Singapore. Other bases like Malta and Cyprus were assigned only local defense or air force responsibilities. British garrisons in most other areas would be reduced to the size required for internal security only. If unable to meet a crisis with local forces, they would be supported by air and sea lift from the strategic reserve or from one of the tri-service bases. The floating task force concept based on commando carriers and supply trains was reconfirmed and a joint service staff was set up to coordinate operations of this kind. Limited naval construction and the procurement of additional airlift were recommended. Thus outside Western Europe the British defense effort was being geared to the requirements of small wars.

The 1962 Defence White Paper also looked for possible economies and reductions in Western Europe. The military budget for 1962 was set at 1.72 billion pounds, or about seven per cent of the gross national product, a level at which the government proposed to hold it for the next five years. This would require, among other things, that Britain's contribution to NATO's shield forces would be adjusted to the status of the balance of payments, rather than to former Prime Minister Eden's 1954 promise to keep four divisions in Western Europe. Thus despite the possibility that Britain might soon enter the Common Market and other European economic organizations, its forces stationed in Western Europe would probably be reduced.

THE MACMILLAN GOVERNMENT is making it clear that it does not intend to become embroiled in big limited wars anywhere in the world. If crises arise that are too big to handle with small forces, then negotiation, accommodation, and concession will have to be resorted to. Britain simply will not be able to fight, and the 1962 White Paper has not been able to conceal that fact.

Does Europe Need Its Neutrals?

GORDON BROOK-SHEPHERD

IT TAKES A LOT to ruffle the surface of that smooth and well-balanced mirror of Swiss composure, the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*. Yet on April 18-19 a seven-column front-page editorial series pondering Switzerland's future was climaxed with this anti-American explosion: "When today in the United States, which is neither a member of the Common Market nor a European country, influential members of the government start up a veritable campaign against the association of Europe's neutrals with the Common Market, and when these circles already start issuing edicts that the neutrals shall be allowed no such association but merely an ordinary commercial treaty, this can only be regarded as one-sided interference in matters that are the real concern of the European countries." The paper ended with a prim warning to Washington to keep its fingers out of such intimate Continental problems and to leave the Western European states alone to sort out their relationships with one another.

The unnamed target of this outburst was George W. Ball, the U.S. Under Secretary of State, whose ideas about the future shape of Europe have done more than just sting the Swiss. They have also worried the Swedes and have frightened the life out of the Austrians, the neutrals most affected. Indeed, the visit

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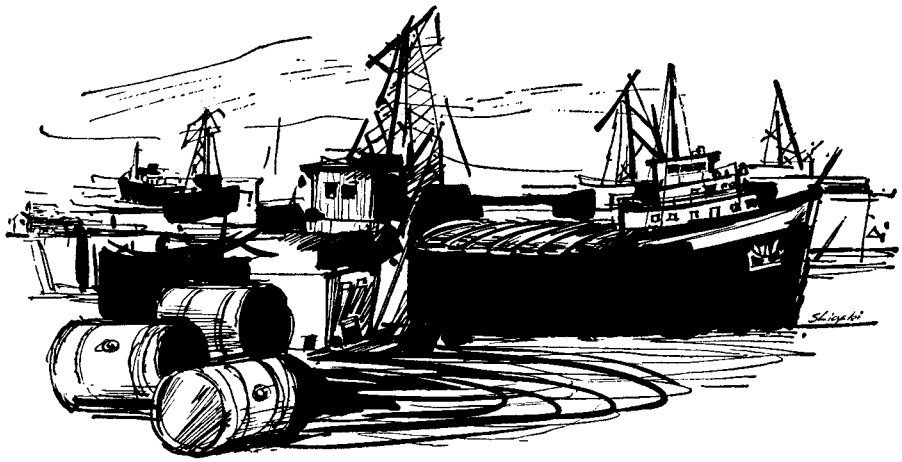
that the Austrian federal chancellor, Dr. Alfons Gorbach, has just paid to Washington was mainly devoted to an attempt to counteract the George Ball philosophy.

On a broader front, these State Department theories have provided new levers for raising anti-Americanism throughout the European continent, and they have placed yet another potential burden on America's relations with Britain, which is pledged to plead the case of its neutral trade partners in all its own difficult negotiations with the Common Market Six.



MR. BALL is now convinced that all these risks are worth running, and for the moment at least, his conviction seems to be shared by President Kennedy. The argument is simple and compelling when taken in its own context. It starts from the assumption that Britain will join the Six (France, West Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg) within the next twelve months, and that at least two of Britain's partners in the European Free Trade Area, Norway and Denmark, will also go in as full members. So far, so good. A new economic giant will have arisen in Europe, the equal of the United States in population and resources, and every single limb of which is carved from solid NATO oak. Here, with the United States, is a transatlantic structure on which a new Grand Alliance for freedom can be based. Here, in fact, is the new framework for the anti-Communist struggle that American policymakers have been seeking ever since the spawning of Afro-Asian states turned the United Nations Organization from a western forum into a playground for noncommitted countries.

But the vision becomes blurred once the three neutrals of the European Free Trade Area are allowed on the scene, half in and half out, associating themselves with the New Europe to share its economic benefits, yet shunning all the political and military responsibilities of full membership. If this happens, Ball would argue, a lot of parasitical ivy would drape itself around the NATO oak, draining its strength and inhibiting its growth. Sweden, Switzerland, and Austria must therefore either come right into the New Europe or stay right outside, their economic future safeguarded by special trade agreements. These arguments have also been put forward inside the Six by that dedicated European "integrationist," Paul-Henri Spaak, foreign minister of Belgium. But it is their sponsorship by Washington that turns these talking points into high policies.

Three Kinds of Neutrality

So far, the reaction in Europe has been an odd mixture of threatened self-interest and injured idealism. Even the three neutrals affected have not replied with anything like one voice, and are still struggling to harmonize their response to the American "campaign."

Sweden has been noticeably the quietest of the three, for the good reason that its political status is the most elastic. Technically, this is not one of neutrality at all, but of "nonalignment." Politically, Sweden is the only European neutral that is both an active western member of the U.N. and a sort of unofficial associate of NATO, with which its basic defense and armaments programs have been discreetly co-ordinated for several years.

Regionally, there are strong impulses at work to push Sweden unreservedly into the New Europe. Now that two of its three Scandinavian partners, Norway and Denmark, have decided to apply for full membership, there remains only the restraining tug of Finland from the eastern end of the Baltic. Ever since NATO and the rival Warsaw defense-pact organizations were formed, Sweden and Finland have played a game of "tumbling dominoes" with the great powers. Sweden has told the West that formal membership of NATO would provoke Russia into seizing Finland, and Finland has warned Moscow that any Soviet aggression would drive Sweden straight into the waiting arms of the Pentagon. But this game is gradually becoming both transparent and irrelevant.

One high Swedish diplomat recently gave me this "private" prophecy: "Within five years, and perhaps sooner, Sweden may well become a full-fledged member of the new Western Europe, provided that tension in the Continent as a whole can be lowered by a solution in Berlin and an acceptance of the two Germanys. Once the Russians get the frontiers that they want on the Elbe and the Oder, the Kremlin will not object too strongly to how the western half of Europe arranges itself."

ONE would have to travel far and wide in Switzerland to hear views like that, even expressed as suppositions. To the Swiss, either interpretation of the American "campaign"—an attempt to squeeze them into the new Europe or an attempt to fence them out—is a mortal blow to everything they stand for and live by. Unlike the Austrians and the Swedes, who are compact racial groups, the trilingual structure of the Swiss nation needs some sort of common political religion to cement it together. For generations, the main element in this common faith has been the country's strict neutrality.

Switzerland is not just *a* neutral country, it is *the* neutral, and its pride in fulfilling this mission effi-

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ciently is part and parcel of Swiss patriotism. It is inconceivable to the Swiss that Europe could flourish without Switzerland, and it is even more inconceivable that Switzerland could be anything but neutral. They have just given proof that this neutrality is both armed and realistic by their two-thirds vote in favor of nuclear weapons. But this decision was taken for their own protection and not for the defense of NATO. Their policy toward the new Europe remains one of economic relationship without political attachment.

The Swiss are not, of course, lacking in purely technical counter-arguments to American ideas of a comprehensive trade deal to replace associate membership with the expanded Common Market. Their statisticians have worked out, for example, that even if Switzerland were to benefit, as a privileged third party, by the maximum tariff reductions envisaged in the Kennedy program, this would affect only forty per cent of its present exports to Britain and the Six, and only twenty-six per cent of its exports to the United States. But although Mr. Ball's ideas are also seen as a commercial threat, it is the spiritual challenge that looms largest.

SWITZERLAND'S Alpine neighbor and fellow neutral, Austria, is in an even greater commotion over America's attitude, though for totally different reasons. Neutrality, which ever since 1815 has been the recognized pillar of Swiss nationhood, is for the Austrians a mere diplomatic superstructure erected only seven years ago as the condition of their freedom from four-power occupation. But precisely because of this, it is their freedom rather than their national identity that the Austrians now feel is at stake.

For many months, the Russians and their satellites have been pounding away at the Austrian government, warning that any formal link with the Six would be a violation of that "permanent neutrality" pledged by the Austrian parliament in the fall of 1955, soon after the last foreign troops had left its soil. In February of this year, the Czech government, ever the faithful mailman of the Kremlin, delivered a written protest on the subject in Vienna. One element in this Communist drive reflects chronic suspicion as well as bogus propaganda. This is the fear that, for all the supranational ambitions of the New Europe, Austria might get swallowed up by West Germany, first economically and then politically, thus repeating Hitler's Anschluss of twenty-four years ago and strengthening what the Communists call the "revanchist warmongering camp" of the Führer's successors.

The Austrians have rejected all such suggestions with complete sincerity. But to Soviet ears, their protests are weakened by the well-known fact that it is mainly to protect its vital trade links with West Germany that Austria is seeking economic partnership with the Six. About fifty-four per cent of Austria's trade flows to and from the Common Market countries as a whole. Yet nearly forty per cent of its imports come from West Germany alone, and some twenty-seven per cent of its exports are sent there. Thus, though political subservience to Germany is a thing of the past, economic dependence remains, and the Russians persist in seeing links between the two that neither Bonn nor Vienna desires.

A few weeks before he went to Washington to plead with President Kennedy, Chancellor Gorbach was in London, trying to mobilize some immediate help from Mr. Macmillan. As the leading member of the European Free Trade Area, Britain is formally committed to securing "satisfactory conditions" for Austria and its other EFTA partners in the great Common Market scheme.

The British prime minister reportedly told his guest that there was little point in making a special issue with the President over the neutrals' dilemma until the overriding question of Britain's own entry into Europe was settled. Far better, the British leader argued, to present Washington later this year with a blueprint incorporating the agreed position of the Six, the Commonwealth, Britain, and all its Free Trade Area partners, the neutrals included. Confronted with such a co-ordinated master plan, President Kennedy would surely find it hard to dig in his heels over any single element. Chancellor Gorbach seemed well content with this logic when he departed.

Just before leaving, he described his country's case to me in these words: "We feel we have an unanswerable case for association with the Six. How can any young and vulnerable neutral living right on the Iron Curtain consider going right in? Yet our economic ties with Western Europe are so overwhelming that we cannot be treated as complete outsiders. Nor is it just a matter of material self-interest. Ideologically Vienna belongs today to Western Europe, and historically it has always belonged to Europe as a whole. It would be a sad day for us all if this were no longer accepted."

The British View

These views were echoed by Edward Heath, Britain's chief Common Market negotiator, in a major policy statement made in London to the foreign ministers of the Six. A complete text of the statement, which was originally secret, has now become available. It shows that on the problem of Europe and the neutrals, Mr. Heath made the following observations:

"It is our view that the European community will form, as it were, a nucleus at the center of the wider European family. We shall want to do nothing which might slow down the impetus towards the political unity of the central nucleus. At the same time, we must ensure that other Western European countries which for various reasons cannot, or do not, join the central core remain nevertheless within its political and economic orbit and are not driven to seek support and comfort elsewhere.

"I should like to mention in particular the position of the neutral members of EFTA, Austria, Sweden and Switzerland. All three are politically stable and staunchly anti-Communist. Historically, they have played an important role in the life of the Continent. We believe it would be a serious political mistake to isolate them from the new Europe. I am convinced that their association with the Community could be arranged in such a way as not to weaken the political and eco-

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nomic cohesion of the central nucleus of full members or impede their progress."

It is interesting to compare that secret speech with a public one that Mr. Ball made in Bonn the week before on the future of Western Europe. It was entitled "The Developing Atlantic Partnership" and one of its main themes was the rejection of any "third force neutralism" in the new Europe. It contained the significant declaration that the United States regarded a united Europe as "a condition to the development of an effective Atlantic partnership."

THE CONTRAST between these two views is as wide as the Atlantic Ocean which conditioned it. Should the emphasis in building the new Europe be placed on unifying the whole continent, linking up economically with hopefully western-oriented satellites like Poland and Czechoslovakia, and even, in a dreamy future, with a "liberalized" Russia itself? Or should a tight NATO framework be adhered to, making the enlarged Common Market the European pillar of the anti-Communist alliance, and emphasizing the present East-West divisions in Europe?

The Continental concept, which now seems to be favored by Britain despite its overseas outlook, would guarantee a useful place to the European neutrals; as associate members, they could act as valuable beacon lights to guide in other non-NATO countries on a similar "trade only" basis. The hard-core concept, at the moment sponsored by Washington, just as clearly rules the neutrals out.

These unresolved and conflicting ideas concern more than the future of three small neutral countries, or even the harmony of Anglo-American relations in 1962. They affect the whole strategy of the West in its struggle with Soviet Communism and the western forecast as to what form that conflict might take once Red China has developed its full might on Russia's eastern flank.

It is in terms of these broad and risky questions that the wisdom or folly of admitting Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland to the antechambers of NATO must be measured.

Canada Comes To a Fork in the Road

WILLIAM H. HESSLER

OTTAWA

LAST SUMMER, when Prime Minister Macmillan announced his intention to take the United Kingdom into the European Economic Community (EEC), or Common Market, the response here in the capital of the senior dominion was disbelief, resentment, and something akin to panic. This was especially true among the Tories in and around Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker's government who cling doggedly to an old Loyalist tradition: their instant reaction last June was that Britain was deserting them. The first reaction of shock has been succeeded by an outwardly cheerful mood of resignation. But there is still no sign of a vigorous and informed policy to replace Ottawa's past reliance on free or preferential access to the British market. Canada is not merely at a simple fork in the road. It is lost in a highway nightmare, a complex of alternative routes that may not appear on Mr. Diefenbaker's old road map.

Canada was by far the most outspoken of the Commonwealth countries in opposing Britain's projected course, although it was the least affected. Only a sixth of Canada's foreign trade has been with the United Kingdom (sixty per cent of Canadian exports go to the United States). For Nigeria and New Zealand, Great Britain accounts for a half of their foreign trade; for Australia, India, and Ceylon, about a third. But it is not hard to see why London's sudden decision set off such alarm here. Canada lives chiefly by exporting industrial raw materials and foodstuffs to the world. Ranking twenty-seventh of the nations in population, it is sixth in international trade. On a per capita basis, it is the greatest trading nation of all. Its exports to Britain doubled from 1950 to 1960, while its total exports rose sixty-eight per cent. The trade with Britain has been based mainly on either a Commonwealth preference or on duty-free entry—the latter much the more important. Although London has promised to "take care of the dominions" in its negotiations for admission to the Common Market, on the face of things some losses seem inescapable.

Canadian wheat, the biggest item, at present enters Britain duty-free. The final tariff of the EEC could be twenty per cent. Aluminum, the next largest item, also enters duty-free, while the probable EEC duty will be ten per cent. Newsprint, again duty-free, faces a prospective EEC duty of seven per cent. Many lesser products would be similarly affected: canned salmon, plywood, Cheddar cheese, and so on. They are small in quantity, but they are important for the Canadians who can the salmon, manufacture the plywood, and make the cheese.

From such quickly gathered data, and with no clues to the specific terms of Britain's accession to the Common Market, an ominous picture of disaster for Canada could be drawn, and it was. The impact of the threatened change might be doubly hurtful because Canada has suffered a serious economic slowdown since 1957, with a formidable unemployment problem: 8.5 per cent of the work force jobless now, and 10.8 per cent a year ago.

Diefenbaker Backs Down

The shifting course of Canadian government policy since last June demonstrates the slow triumph of facts over sentiment and impulse. Ottawa began by protesting Britain's plans, by highlighting the economic losses Canada might suffer, and by warning of adverse effects on the British Commonwealth itself. This policy was the prime minister's own. It did not reflect the thinking of permanent civil servants here in Ottawa. Even after four years in office, Mr. Diefenbaker has not felt at home

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with this corps of talented and dedicated men—partly because of his suspicious nature, partly from the normal distrust of a Progressive-Conservative ministry for a permanent staff that had served Liberal governments in unbroken succession for twenty-two years.

Mr. Diefenbaker's "you can't do this to us" policy rose to a strident climax in September, when the economic bigwigs of the Commonwealth governments gathered at Accra. Canadian Trade and Commerce Minister George Hees tried to prove that it was against Great Britain's own interests to join the Common Market. He also pictured Canada's prospective losses in desperate terms (ninety-six per cent of its $900-million yearly exports to Britain could be "adversely affected"). Finally, the Canadian minister argued that since the Commonwealth members' political association was based on trade, the Commonwealth itself would either come to an end or be left an "empty shell" if Britain were to plant itself behind the tariff wall of the non-English-speaking European Economic Community.

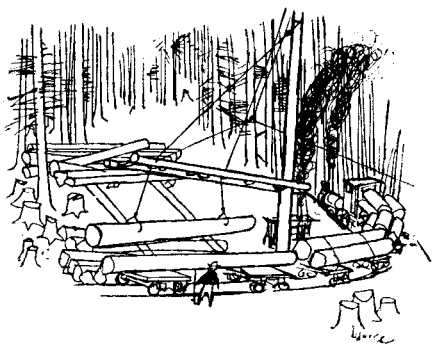
The cable lines linking Accra, London, and Ottawa were busy for a few days with recriminations, explanations, reproaches, and regrets. Frank speaking is proper and useful within a family, Finance Minister Donald M. Fleming later said in extenuation at Winnipeg. The candor of the Canadian delegation, he declared, had helped to clear the air. Meanwhile, however, the *Sunday Times* of London, one of the milder critics of Ottawa's policy, observed: "No one wants to quarrel, but nobody seems able to keep on terms with the Canadian government." Several weeks passed before Canadian-British relations began to thaw.

Since then, Diefenbaker, Fleming, and Hees have pitched their public remarks concerning Britain and the Common Market in a different key. They have said (1) that they had always recognized Britain's right to enter, and the likelihood that it would, (2) that Canada's whole effort had been merely to ensure better protection for the interests of Canada and the other dominions when Britain finally took the big step, and (3) that Canada would manage to ride out the storm after a period of readjustment. In short, the senior dominion retreated from the field of battle as gracefully as it could. Coming before a crucial election, this reversal of policy could hardly be transformed into a political asset, even by the undisputed eloquence of John G. Diefenbaker. But the family feud was resolved—on Britain's terms. Ottawa recognized that Britain, too, is an independent dominion, free to follow its own best interests.

Canadian apprehensions were further eased when at the end of April Prime Minister Macmillan visited Ottawa. Among the many topics he discussed with Mr. Diefenbaker, the Common Market had top priority. He again gave assurances that Commonwealth interests were being safeguarded in all the discussions at Brussels. And he promised that nothing conclusive would be done, no papers signed, until after "full collective consultation" with Commonwealth ministers in London in September. He could not with safety have been more specific, since his visit occurred during the election campaign. And inasmuch as the Liberals had accused the Diefenbaker government of bringing excessive pressure on London to prevent its entering the Common Market, Mr. Macmillan had to tread warily or be charged with interfering in a Canadian election.

How Would Canada Fare?

In major Canadian cities, economists, businessmen, and civil servants are busily trying to ascertain what broad lines of foreign economic policy Canada ought to pursue. This cannot be easy or exact, since the terms of Britain's entry into the EEC are still obscure. But increasingly, Canada's thinking about the problem is being shaped by its economists, those attached to universities, banks, and business concerns, plus others who write for the *Financial Post* and the papers of Toronto and Montreal.



These economists are not unanimous. But preponderantly, they take a cheerfully philosophic view based on studies of the specific commodities likely to be affected, and on thoughtful reflections about the present coalescence of the world's trading systems into larger economic blocs.

Specifically, Canada's sales to Britain are accounted for in great measure by just six products: wheat, aluminum, lead, zinc, wood pulp, and newsprint paper. On the last five, London has given firm assurance it would press for removal of EEC's common tariff. The other, wheat, is undeniably important, for Britain has been taking one-third of Canada's total exports and the Six another quarter. There could be a loss here, once the EEC tariff applies to the British Isles. But the hard wheat of the Canadian prairie provinces has special milling qualities. These should conserve much of the market. Most other farm products—barley, flax seed, soy beans, tobacco—may have rougher going once Britain is inside the EEC, because instead of the preference they enjoyed in the British market, they will face a tariff in the Common Market. Nevertheless, all of them together are only ten per cent of Canada's exports to Britain—and less than two per cent of total Canadian trade.

Among the metals and other minerals, which constitute a large part of Canada's trade with Britain, copper, uranium, nickel, and iron ore would not be affected, being duty-free in Britain and the EEC alike. Asbestos would go from a ten per cent Commonwealth preference to duty-free entry in the EEC—an inconsequential change. Aluminum, lead, and zinc pose more problems, as they would switch from duty-free entry (or preference) to an EEC tariff. Here, much depends on the deal Britain makes on joining the Six.

Newsprint and pulp would switch from duty-free entry into Britain to EEC duties of seven per cent and six per cent respectively. Sweden and Norway provide a complication: both are newsprint producers, and if they join the Common Market they may want protection to help them expand production. Canadian

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pulp and newsprint people are not alarmed, however. Use of pulp and paper rises with living standards. Europe now buys $100 million worth annually; an expanding EEC should create a market more or less comparable to that of the United States, which takes $1 billion of Canadian pulp and paper annually. The paper moguls believe that their industry stands to benefit by the principle that Canada will gain most from a strong Britain in a strong Europe.

In more general terms, economic experts in Montreal and Toronto have assured me that the loss of Commonwealth preference is not really serious. It came too late to do the dominions much good, has never been important (compared with duty-free entry), and is a dying institution —no matter what club Great Britain joins. They emphasize that while Canada's exports to Britain were up 16.5 per cent in 1960, its sales to the Six went up thirty-nine per cent that year. Also, the Six are big importers of industrial raw materials, the core of Canada's export trade.

What's to Be Done?

If in fact Britain does join the Common Market without salvaging much of the traditional advantages the dominions have had in the British market, what should Canada do? So far, there seems to be no general agreement. There are three obvious choices, although none of them are wholly workable.

Here and there it is proposed, without much conviction, that Canada itself should join the Common Market, presumably as an associate member. But the EEC by its origin and nature is a regional European bloc, designed to create a larger unity out of six or more roughly similar and neighboring countries. It would lose its meaning if it embraced a distant country producing raw materials and basic foodstuffs for the world market.

There is broad support for an outright switch to a much closer economic alignment with the United States. If Europe can have a Common Market, the argument runs, North America, with a greater area and gross national product, can have its own common market. Presumably this would take the form of a free-trade area embracing Canada and the United States. It is an intriguing idea but without practical utility, for the following reasons:

¶ In the context of Canadian fears of absorption, it would be political suicide for any government at Ottawa to sponsor such a free-trade association.

¶ Long-established U.S. foreign economic policy, based on nondiscrimination, precludes giving any special access to any one country, even one as near and dear as Canada.

¶ Manufacturing in Canada is mainly carried on by U.S. subsidiaries, which have come here largely because of Canada's tariffs. Without a tariff, many American concerns would see no point in maintaining their branch plants in Canada.

¶ The transatlantic comparison of common markets is an artificial one. In Europe, a number of economic units that are not grossly disproportionate in size and wealth are shaping a larger market, setting the conditions by the bargaining of equals. In North America, by contrast, the United States has 180 million people to Canada's 18 million, and a gross national product of $500 billion compared with Canada's $35 billion. It would be a lopsided partnership, in which Canada would get lost.

There is also the notion, which has a surprising number of backers, that Canada should retreat into a shell of protectionism, build up its own manufacturing industry, and stand clear of the big economic blocs taking form. This ignores the fact that Canada is pre-eminently a trading nation, needing a world market to supply with raw materials and foodstuffs. Such a country cannot wall itself in without courting disastrous reprisals. As one economist at Toronto said: "Protectionism is an attractive idea for Canada, but it comes fifty years too late."

THESE CHOICES are all clearly unacceptable. There is a fourth that is acceptable, but it is hazy, and difficult to package neatly for sale to the public. It includes a half-dozen major components and countless minor ones. One is to go on negotiating with EEC and the United States, mainly through the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Another is to take full advantage of any deals the United States may make with EEC—since any tariff reductions are extended to other countries. Yet another is to join forces with the United States and with Japan, if possible, for more effective negotiations with EEC. Still another factor might be to expand exports to the Communist countries, as both Canada and Australia have done in the last year especially.

There is also a tangle of half-explored possibilities in special deals with the United States, particularly free-trade arrangements with respect to single classes of goods. These exist now for farm machinery and components. They could be extended, with some safeguards, to automobiles. Canada also has the wide-open chance to cut its manufacturing costs by consolidating its competing producers. It now makes nineteen brands of refrigerators, none with large enough runs to give efficient, low-cost production. Other problems have to do with research and with the tailoring of products for specific overseas demands. Canadian companies spend only 0.72 per cent of the gross national product for research and development compared with 2.58 per cent in the United States. (Canada's new budget, passed last month, provides a 150 per cent tax credit for research outlays by Canadian corporations—in effect a subsidy to corporate research.) In overseas trade, Canadians too often have been mere order takers since the war, instead of aggressive, imaginative salesmen.

TWO concluding observations are germane. First, there is no well-defined "best choice" among future courses. The easy, well-packaged answers are unsound. If there is a sound answer, it is an elusive basket of piecemeal remedies with little glamor.

Second, Canada lost a good deal of time, added to the confusion of the public, and perhaps weakened a much-needed partnership with London when Prime Minister Diefenbaker's government misgauged the problem and rode off to tilt at windmills. It was moved to action by a nostalgic feeling for the old Empire instead of by twentieth-century economic realities.

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The Second Battle Of San Jacinto

CLIFTON BROCK

On April 21, 1836, a force of 743 doughty Texans marched out onto the desolate flats south of the present city of Houston. There they defeated a Mexican army more than twice as large, commanded by General Santa Ana, in the Battle of San Jacinto, the decisive engagement in the war for Texan independence. This spring, another band of Texans—more greedy than doughty—are engaged in the mopping-up actions of a second Battle of San Jacinto. This time it is the Army of the United States that has fallen before the Texans and has been forced to surrender its ordnance depot located there. In a notable variation of the usual outcry in Congress when the military shuts down an installation, this time the fight was waged because the military wanted to keep one open.

Although preliminary skirmishes had been going on for three years, the fight really got under way in May, 1958, during hearings by the House Armed Services Committee on a military construction bill. Representative Albert Thomas of Houston appeared before the committee and offered an amendment that "authorized and directed" the Secretary of the Army to sell all land and facilities of the San Jacinto Ordnance Depot near Houston. Speaking for the Chamber of Commerce of Houston, the mayor, the Port Commission, and the mayors and city councils of neighboring cities, the congressman reported that all these "interested people" hoped the committee would "make it mandatory that this depot will be removed immediately. They don't think—and they are all good businessmen—that the taxpayers are going to lose any money whatsoever," since the land at the base was worth $3,500 to $7,000 an acre. "The Army don't want to get out of San Jacinto," Thomas explained, but the depot had become an economic and health hazard to the Houston community. The congressman thus set out to undo his own work at the beginning of the Second World War, when he urged the Army to locate an ordnance depot near Houston. ("Come on down in my section," he told the Army in 1941. "We are patriotic. We will help you get the land.")

By 1958, there were very good reasons why Representative Thomas and some of his constituents were no longer satisfied with San Jacinto. In 1941 the stretch of the Houston Ship Channel on which the depot was located was a comparative wilderness. By 1958, however, Houston had the fastest-growing metropolitan area in the country. San Jacinto was located in the middle of a twenty-six-mile channel stretch lined with petroleum, chemical, and other plants valued at $2 billion, and the depot's frontage took up five miles of this valuable waterfront space.

Two weeks after Thomas's appearance before the Armed Services Committee, the Army was given an opportunity to present its case. Assistant Secretary of the Army Frank Higgins told the committee: "Mr. Chairman, . . . San Jacinto is one of the safest ammunition depots in the country. San Jacinto is unlike any other Army installation in that it provides a dual capacity of ammunition storage and outloading, ready for immediate response in the event of an emergency. This capability must be maintained."

Mr. Higgins, supported by Army ordnance experts, denied categorically that San Jacinto constituted a "health hazard" to Houston. The depot had shipped out over 300,000 tons of ammunition during the first six months of the Korean War without an accident. No large shipments from San Jacinto would be made except in the event of war, when ammunition would be shipped through New Orleans, Hoboken, and New York City itself.

Thomas had predicted that the government would realize $17.5 to $20 million from the sale of San Jacinto's land alone, exclusive of the facilities. According to the Army, these facilities consisted of "an ammonia plant, 281 buildings of permanent construction, 18 miles of railroad trackage, 7 warehouses, a pier for two vessels, 43 miles of roads, plus walks, bridges, trestles, platforms, and parking areas." Mr. Higgins disagreed with Thomas's estimate, pointing out that "Our disposal of San Jacinto, as proposed by the amendment, will . . . be conducted under conditions of a forced sale."

A Dangerous Precedent

When Representative Thomas and the Houston interests enlisted the support of Representative Carl Vinson (D., Georgia), the powerful chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the Army knew it was in for a fight. On July 9, 1958, Vinson presented to the House the military construction bill containing the Thomas amendment. It was immediately challenged by Congressmen H. R. Gross of Iowa and Leslie Arends of Illinois, both Republicans. Arends wanted to know why Congress shouldn't authorize, not direct, the Army to sell San Jacinto, asking if the House were going to agree that when "the United States purchased property and developed it and it later on became very valuable that it should be abandoned and turned over to private interests?" Such a decision would mean that "We will have established a precedent that will come back to haunt the Congress as long as there are military construction bills, or as long as we have a military establishment. San Jacinto is not alone."

Arends read the House a letter from the then Army Secretary Wilbur Brucker to Vinson: "While I am cognizant of the authority of Congress in such matters, I am nevertheless deeply concerned with the implications of the proposed legislation with respect to the basic responsibility of the Department of the Army for determining those fa-

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cilities and installations required to fulfill its missions."

Thomas, sensing danger to his project, arose to defend it. His constituents were taxpayers, and they needed a break. "If the Army is in a community and the Army is an economic burden to that community and a health hazard to it, why shouldn't the Army get out? Who supports the Army? Is it the country? Or does the Army support the country? I never heard of the Army supporting the country. It is the country that supports the Army, is it not?" Despite the Army's objections, the bill passed the House.

The final wording of the bill, however, did not contain quite all that Thomas wanted. The "most important change," according to a Senate committee report, was to require that the depot be sold unless the Secretary of Defense found such action "inimical to national security." This change proved to be of no importance, since national security, as the Pentagon well knows, also depends on the good will of the Texas contingent in Congress. The one change that did have some meaning was the requirement that San Jacinto be sold by the General Services Administration through nation-wide bids. Thomas had wanted it sold at auction in Houston by the Corps of Engineers, an arrangement more likely to result in transferring the property to the right people under the most favorable circumstances.

Representative Gross urged President Eisenhower to veto the San Jacinto deal as "an unconscionable raid upon the U.S. Treasury." But with San Jacinto buried in the Military Construction Act and with Congress due to adjourn shortly, Eisenhower signed the act, though he called the removal of San Jacinto "highly undesirable."

WITH THIS, the terrain of battle shifted from the halls of Congress to the inner reaches of the Pentagon, pitting the Army against the Defense Department. The record here is not so clear as with Congress, but the available evidence indicates that the carnage was considerable. On March 6, 1959, Defense Secretary Neil McElroy informed Vinson that Defense had made a "thorough study" of the problem and found that the loss of San Jacinto would not be inimical to national security. Later testimony disclosed that this "thorough study" of the ordnance capacity of all military installations in the United States was completed and reviewed in five months. It was done not by the Defense Department but by a private management firm, Booz, Allen & Hamilton of New York, at a cost of $45,000. Representative Arends felt it was "a sad commentary on our military planning when a private consultant firm can completely reverse the judgment of our military people in a field that is exclusively military."

Despite this decision, the Army continued to buck like an infantry mule. At a final disposal hearing on May 13, 1959, in the face of contrary testimony by Defense officials, the Army reiterated that it wanted to retain San Jacinto because the depot had certain unique advantages: it was in existence and paid for; it was convenient to ammunition storage areas in the Middle West; it was the sole facility where the Army had storage and outloading capacity at the same point. "This situation still exists," said an Army witness, but "there has been a decision by the Secretary of Defense, and in fact by the Congress, and the Army is complying with that decision."

San Jacinto finally had gone under the ax. The Houston *Post* hailed the event in an editorial: "The long effort of Houston interests to get the government to close down its sprawling San Jacinto Ordnance Depot now has reached the payoff stage." The *Post* explained that land along the Ship Channel was so limited as to handicap efforts to attract new industries. "This was the reason back of the move to get the federal government to close down its depot and relinquish the large and valuable acreage." Houston had reason "to be grateful to Representative Albert Thomas." Mr. Thomas, who had said all along that the Army would "be forced to move San Jacinto" and that the cost might well be dismissed as a "legitimate cost of war," had won. In June, 1960, the depot's land and facilities were turned over to the General Services Administration for disposal.

For two years the GSA has been trying to get a fair price for the government. In August, 1960, GSA opened the first round of bids for the property and rejected all but two as unreasonably low. The Missouri Pacific Railroad got San Jacinto's railroad trackage for $303,062. The Smith-Douglas Company bought the ammonia plant for $2.6 million. (In 1948 Thomas had said the plant was worth $6 million; in 1957 the Army valued it at $12 million.)

In September, 1960, a second round of bids was again rejected by GSA. San Jacinto—and Houston—remained in suspense while GSA undertook a nation-wide campaign to advertise the property.

A third round of bids was opened on April 24. Again there were scattered offers for parcels of the property, but this time the Port of Houston proposed to pay $7.5 million for the lot. This works out to approximately $1,900 an acre compared to the "$3,500 to $7,000" estimated earlier by Thomas. If accepted and lumped with the previous sale, it means that the Army will receive $9 million less than it put into San Jacinto, $11 million less than Thomas predicted, and $34 million less than the estimated cost of the substitute facility in Alabama.

Port officials have let it be known that they would resell some of the acreage to private industries. But the question of who will ultimately end up with San Jacinto and at what bargain rates is secondary. The major problem, as Representative Arends noted, is that "San Jacinto is not alone." Cities all across the country are creeping up on military bases that were once relatively isolated. Property values are skyrocketing, and pressure may be exerted in other areas as was done in Houston. "Safety factors" can be used to justify removing many types of installations, not just ordnance depots.

The Texans of 1836 won their battle because they were able to creep up on Santa Ana's army while the troops were taking a siesta. The troops were not asleep during the Second Battle of San Jacinto, but their commanders—particularly Congress—were.

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THE REPORTER Acrostickler No. 56

by HENRY ALLEN

DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

A. 173 202 16 10 122 76 182 4 126 46
216 142
A variegated changing pattern or scene.

B. 20 134 136 192
"An idiot_____to honour lost,
Who know them best, despise them most!"
Burns, "On Seeing Stirling Palace in Ruins."

C. 196 30 34 164 86 222
A kind of poetic foot.

D. 90 100 2 42 208 186 116 214
"She_____many things of many physicians!"
Mark.

E. 184 140 56 22 212 162 74 108 150 210
An African antelope (Alcelaphus caama).

F. 36 188 68
Sound of dissent.

G. 118 78 64 154 28 206 38 40 158 50 138 106
80 26 92 88 110 60 166 132 130 14 12 62
176 53 148 178 96 190 180 6
The Acrostician's attitude might be said to be primarily this (12,2,7,11).

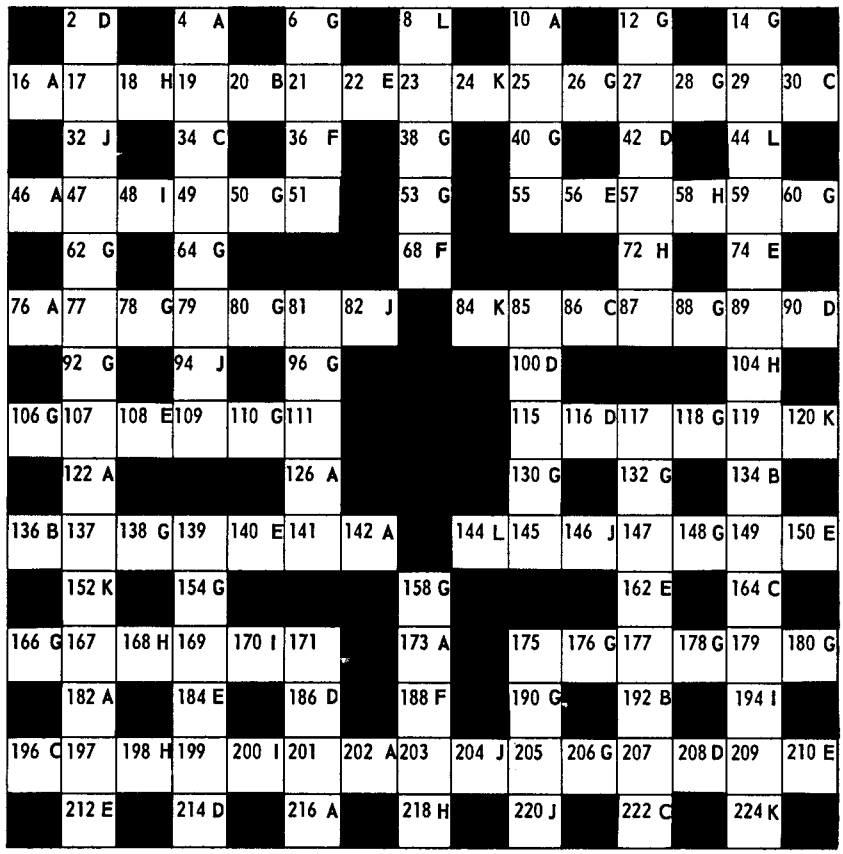
H. 198 58 104 168 18 72 218
Pertaining to the dance of death.

I. 170 200 48 194
Norse mythological work.

J. 94 204 220 32 146 82
"He was naturally learn'd; he_____not the spectacles of books to read Nature..."
Dryden, "Essay of Dramatic Poesy."

K. 24 224 152 84 120
An expression of mild distress (1,4).

L. 8 144 44
A Latin particle.



ACROSS

16. Activity recently sponsored by the Acrostician, as he might have expressed it (10,2,3).
46. A strange plaything I and the minister use.
55. Dart with me to one activity carried on about marble halls.
76. He meant it when he removed all his folding money!
84. Bears us? No, mistreaters of us.
106. A smile-making word from Edam?
115. Fix a rapier.
136. Climb it, I say. It's good weather for it.
144. Louise's about to employ lubricants (3,4).
166. The Red Sea is rubbed out.
175. Morals you can get your teeth into.
196. Right now, of pressing importance (9,6).

DOWN

2. With 85 down, enjoy a Roman musical activity of dissociation (6,5,4,5).
4. Met noise but got sharp. That's flat!
6. The man you know best may embrace several.
8. Even a fool can make a point in New York.
10. Sir Geraint's wife can dine now.
12. Tenders for officers if 99 leave.
14. Adam Climber Corn might be an example of this type of product (10,5).
81. Choose from among the selectmen.
85. See 2 down.
117. These are not insoluble, but don't expect to find them in solutions.
139. Is she mad because someone flirted?
158. A fish at its best when on ice?
171. A kind of coffee for a square, in former teen-age parlance.
175. Imitate 2,000, that is.

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Small Cars for Big Cities

AL NEWMAN

THE New York International Automobile Show at the Coliseum offered two fairly alarming revelations about what they're thinking in Detroit these days. One phenomenon was in evidence, the other absent, but essentially they pointed to the same thing. I refer to the turbosuperchargers whose purpose is to make conventional engines breathe more deeply and produce greater horsepower under forced draft, and to the Ford Cardinal, a four-cylinder air-cooled front-wheel-drive small (as opposed to compact) design which Ford announced it was dropping just before the show opened.

What these signify can be expressed succinctly in a quotation from Kenneth Grahame's *The Wind in the Willows:* "Toad went a little faster; then faster still, and faster." Mr. Toad, in this instance, is you and I, the car-buying public.

Many automotive critics had hoped that with the advent of the much-more-sensible-than-before compact cars, the Detroit trend to increased power and size would be arrested in a curious way—that as the compacts themselves evolved inevitably into behemoths a new, even more sensible class of compact-compacts might arise beneath them. Such was the unhatched Cardinal.

The current American compact is a vehicle designed to hold five or six persons, and it may even be called on to do so several times in its life. It is in the neighborhood of fifteen feet long and nearly six feet wide, weighs about a ton and a quarter, and retails at around two thousand dollars without extras. With the basic small engine, each horsepower carries about twenty-four to twenty-eight pounds of car, and the rig will do 80-plus mph all-out and cruise comfortably in the mid-seventies. Typically, the suspension is soft and cushiony on account of Grandma's false teeth, which rattle when she is jiggled.

Spend thirty to fifty dollars more on the bigger, more powerful engine option—as most buyers do—and the weight-to-power ratio comes down to less than twenty pounds per horsepower. Now the car's top speed is somewhere in the nineties, and it will cruise happily in the mid-eighties—in a straight line, that is. If you try to swerve or take even a moderate curve at speed, look out for Grandma's false teeth. In fact, look out for Grandma and everyone else in the car. That nice, soft comfortable suspension can be treacherous. And now, with turbosuperchargers in the offing to raise the power—well, Detroit doesn't mention speed nowadays, but it had better stiffen its underpinnings. The compacts need speeding up like a diesel engine needs spark plugs.

TO ME, an important aspect of the display missed by the average showgoer was a sign on the Fifty-eighth street side of the Coliseum. It stood in the entrance of the garage, and it read "FULL." In other words, where were city dwellers to put the attractive monsters on display inside? Surely, the congestion of Columbus Circle outside the exhibition might have given a domestic motor magnate or two some food for thought.

Before the coming of New York Traffic Commissioner Henry Barnes from Baltimore in January, the deepest thinker on traffic problems I ever met locally was a Bowery bum. We were marooned on a corner of Third Avenue and Fourteenth Street by right-turning traffic, and the bum, while obviously having no place to go, was in a tearing hurry to get there just like most other New Yorkers. Exasperated, he turned to me and said: "I know how to fix this traffic jam. Take every car off the streets that ain't paid for!"

Short of this automotive birth control—which would ruin the nation's economy but would, by God, move traffic—what can be done? In the February 3 issue of *Saturday Night,* a Toronto fortnightly, Alex T. Jordan grappled manfully with the problem. " 'Half of all traffic is on city streets'—states the General Motors' Facts Book," according to Mr. Jordan. "And yet all the 1961 cars are designed for highway travel—none for city streets." The author came up with the concept of the "CITYCAR," a vehicle about twelve feet long. "The wheelbase could be a little under 100"—similar to the existing compacts—but the front and rear overhang would be completely eliminated. There would be, however, no reduction in width . . ."

Mr. Jordan is on the right track in some respects. The present crop of compacts are admirably suited to suburb and turnpike, and from the knowledge of some months of test driving them I can say there are many I like very much. Still, they are too big for New York City—and for Toronto too. By sawing off the trunk of the car, Mr. Jordan has helped solve the parking problem. But even in terms of Toronto, a half-moon-shaped city that has "solved" its long-distance crosstown problem by building six-lane 60-mph Highway 400 around the arc (though you should see 400 at five o'clock of a summer Friday), he has hardly coped with the *movement* difficulty.

In terms of area alone one could, were one so inclined, cram approximately 490 American compacts into one acre, or fit 150 more Volkswagens into a similar space. But what matters when one is confronted with two parked cars and a double-parked truck in a New York side street is width. Here the driver of a Studebaker Lark—or Mr. Jordan's CITYCAR—has five feet 11.25 inches to ease through the narrow hole left, and the Volkswagen pilot exactly eleven inches less. The Lark, if it gets by at all, will have to creep: the Volkswagen can go through at speed, with a good chance of clipping the offending truck driver if he steps around the front end of his vehicle at the right moment without looking. In all heavy traffic situations, including the lane driving of the city parkways and the uptown-downtown avenues, the driver of the narrow car has what the Parliament

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cigarette people call "extra margin." For him, traffic friction is reduced.

It will be argued that the small imported cars, of which the Volkswagen is the most popular example, seat only four adults. I would ask such critics, and Mr. Jordan with his insistence on width, to tell me what percentage of vehicles they see laden with more than four adults. As far as large families are concerned, my suggestion for them would be that admirable playpen on wheels, the station wagon. For the superphiloprogenitive there is the airport limousine, which in a city would always have to be on the move since nobody could possibly park it anywhere. This constant moving around might tend to inhibit Pa's and Ma's superphiloprogenitiveness.

Seriously, the representation of the urban dweller on Detroit's drawing boards is even less than what he gets in the various legislative bodies of government; in order to make an intelligent choice of cars he is pretty well forced to look over the foreign entries. Luckily, most of these have been sufficiently increased in power to enable them to give a fair account of themselves on American highways, though few will set any records over the long distances of this continent. Most of them are also miserly with gasoline, and many are designed to concentrate the major weight—that of the engine—over the drive wheels, which gives them the excellent traction that American cars (barring the rear-engined Corvair) don't have. (Statistics and brief critical notes about some of the smaller imports will be found in the adjacent box.)

THE MOST surprising innovation of the show wasn't on hand because it doesn't exist, though we have the word of Voltra, Inc., that it will, as a 1963 model in plastic. It is to be electric-powered, laden with batteries which you plug in overnight to get a charge sufficient to carry the car some sixty miles at speeds up to 45 mph. If this sounds as if it would give you that run-down feeling too early in the day or if you insist on adding at least a small amount of exhaust fumes to the air, a two-cycle motor-alternator will be available as an option to charge-as-you-go. It sounds wonderful for some purposes but don't sell that oil stock.

THE PARKABLE IMPORTS

The imports fall into three classes: the *traction-avant garde* with the front-engine, front-wheel drive clung to by Citroën over many years; the pushers, with power plant and drive wheels in the stern; and of course the conventionals, with engine ahead and drive wheels aft. Here is a brief list of really small cars seen at the show which the car-shopping deep-city dweller ought to look over, giving width and length, weight, horsepower, and basic price at port of entry.

The Traction-Avant Garde

Saab 96: 61.8 X 158 in.; 1,800 lb.; 42 hp.; $1,895. This Swedish car has been winning virtually all the European rallies lately, which means that it must have great ruggedness and sure-footedness, plus blazing acceleration in the ranges where it counts. Its three-cylinder engine is two-cycle: there are no valve mechanisms or camshaft, and the driver mixes the lubricating oil in with the gasoline.

DKW Junior: 62 X 156.2 in.; 1,565 lb.; 39 hp.; $1,595. Manufactured by a Mercedes subsidiary, the DKW is two-cylinder (horizontally opposed) and two-cycle. Here the lubricating oil, instead of being mixed with the gas, is neatly metered to the engine from a reservoir.

Citroën Ami-6: 59.9 X 152.2 in.; 1,344 lb.; 22 hp.; $1,595. Supposedly the successor to the famous 2 CV, this weirdly soft-sprung car drew a great deal of attention at the show from visitors who bounced it about. Its power plant is basically similar to the DKW's, but the oil is mixed with the gas.

British Motor Corporation's Austin and Morris 850: 55.5 X 120 in.; 1,340 lb.; 38 hp.; $1,399. This British ten-footer has a conventional four-cycle, four-cylinder engine placed crosswise between the front wheels. Optional Cooper modifications (an extra) give it an incredible top speed of 84 mph.

The Pushers

Volkswagen: 60.6 X 160 in.; 1,670 lb.; 40 hp.; $1,595. Owing to low engine revolutions, the Volkswagen's top speed is its cruising speed; the four-cylinder air-cooled Porsche-designed engine carries it along at 72 mph for hour after hour. A carefully crafted vehicle.

Renault Dauphine: 60 X 155 in.; 1,455 lb.; 32 hp.; $1,385. Having undergone revisions of its cooling and heating systems, the current Dauphine is quite up to American climatic and highway conditions. A model just road-tested gave 41.5 miles per gallon under all kinds of driving conditions.

Fiat 600-D: 54.2 X 129 in.; 1,350 lb.; 32 hp.; $1,249. A size-smaller-than-Dauphine Italian car, similarly 4-cylinder, 4-cycle, and liquid-cooled.

NSU Prinz IV: 58.7 X 135.4 in.; 1,245 lb.; $1,598. A flat, rounded torpedo-boat stern similar to the Corvair's houses an air-cooled two-cylinder overhead-cam engine. The 181-lb.-lighter two-passenger sport version by Bertone ($1,998) is a downright handsome car, and with a ratio of only twenty-nine pounds per horsepower it ought to move along quite briskly.

The Conventionals

Ford Anglia: 57.5 X 153.6 in.; 1,676 lb.; 41 hp.; $1,524. No special tricks to this one, but a striking reverse-angle rear window in the smartly styled body and fine value for the money. The Consul Classic 315 ($1,827) and Consul Capri ($2,162) complete the English Ford range of luxury subcompacts.

Simca 5: 61.7 X 164.9 in.; 1,995 lb.; 65 hp.; $1,650. Beefing up the horsepower has made this quite a car; its revised four-cylinder engine has five main bearings to carry the load and a new, unique centrifugal oil filter. The Chrysler people, who sponsor this import, gave it outstanding play at the show and they ought to sell quite a few.

Vauxhall Victor: 64 X 173.3 in.; 2,070 lb.; 56 hp.; $1,988. This General Motors British import comes closest to bridging the gap between the American compact and the small foreign cars. It seats five or six.

Triumph Herald 1200: 60 X 153 in.; 1,765 lb.; 43 hp.; $1,949. Very fine styling, appointments in the luxury class, and independent springing at all four corners have made this British vehicle a good seller.

Hillman Minx: 60.8 X 162 in.; 2,430 lb.; 57 hp.; $1,699. The Rootes Group's hardy perennial has been growing in size, power, comfort, and speed over many years.

Daf 750: 57 X 142 in.; 1,456 lb.; 30 hp.; $1,455. At the show there was a cutaway working model of the V-belt automatic transmission that has made this Dutch import famous. Though I didn't understand it, it seemed to work fine, and owners say that it really does. The life of the (replaceable) belts is said to be about 20,000 miles.

Datsun Bluebird: 58.9 X 151.1 in.; 1,980 lb.; 60 hp.; $1,616. The Japanese have come up with quite a car here—well-powered and solidly built. The sports version, called the Fairlady, a handsome job that costs just under $2,000, is capable of 80 mph plus a few.

Fiat 1100: 57.4 X 154 in.; 2,015 lb.; 55 hp.; $1,498. A well-designed and pleasantly styled sedan that manages to look bigger than it really is.

Morris 1000: 61 X 148 in.; 1,700 lb.; 40 hp.; $1,495. Latest version of the Morris Minor, with torsion-bar suspension and excellent handling characteristics.

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Just Looking

MARYA MANNES

ALTHOUGH the regular sponsors of CBS-TV's *The Defenders* series withdrew their support of the play, and although a dozen or more station affiliates and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation declined to show it, a great many Americans saw a fictional doctor defending legalized abortion in "The Benefactors" late in April. This is news and good news, for it shows that a network can stand by its right to treat of a serious and controversial subject in prime time against the opposition and pressures of groups who would abrogate this right.

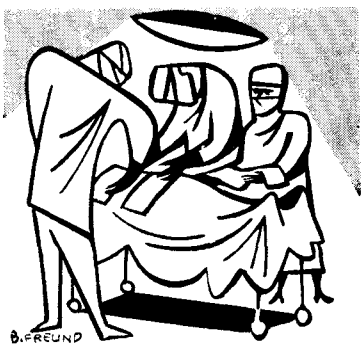
What is not such good news lies in the nature of the show itself as a vehicle for such a subject. For although *The Defenders* is one of the best-produced and most skillfully constructed of the courtroom dramas, though the scripts are tautly written and the acting highly professional, the series suffers from certain ills common to television entertainment and thrown into high relief by the gravity of "The Benefactors" argument.

The first lies in the formula itself. Foolproof in a sense because the courtroom provides a handy microcosm of humanity, because question-and-answer is the swiftest form of dialogue, because crime itself has fascination, it is still a cliché and a contrivance to which only the most original writers can bring new dimensions. Its very durability works against the springs of art.

In *The Defenders*, moreover, a second formula is introduced that works against reality. The defense lawyers are father and son, a blood-and-legal kinship not only unusual in courts of law but made even more unlikely by the way their relationship is handled. Clean-cut father (E. G. Marshall) and clean-cut son (Robert Reed) veer between the standard antagonisms of cautious age and impetuous youth and that lump-in-the-throat pride which their respective and mutual triumphs invariably—and often embarrassingly—seem to evoke. If they seem, to this viewer at least, unlikely as father and son, they are even more unlikely as lawyers, both in their manner of interviewing clients, discussing their case, or behaving in court. I suspect that they must embarrass the legal profession too.

FOR fast-paced entertainment purposes and the examination of certain kinds of crime, this formula is still able to convey interesting facets of law and human behavior and fleeting illusions of reality. Thus one cannot quibble at the clever twist, the sensational revelation, or the emotional charge. But when we come to as huge a question as the legalizing of abortion, all these things can become not only dangerous but harmful. Peter Stone has written a straightforward story about a middle-aged orthopedist with a successful practice in his own field who performs abortions on desperate young girls and women not for money (his fee is $25) but out of a deep conviction that they need his help and that the existing laws on abortion provide them with no alternative between recourse to quacks—and possible serious physical injury—and the social ostracism an illegitimate child will bring them.

The play opens while he is performing an abortion on a girl raped by a convicted sex maniac; he is subsequently arrested by the police. During the trial, four women whom he has helped testify in his behalf, and the doctor himself uses this forum to make a reasoned and eloquent plea for a change in the laws. In this testimony, in the stories of the girls, in the jury's proper verdict of guilty (although with a plea for leniency), there is little to cavil at. In a country where as many as 1,200,000 illegal abortions may be performed in a year, with a wake of untold pain and havoc, the question of our present laws is urgently in need of airing. But before it runs its course, "The Benefactor" seriously overloads its case. The doctor, a widower, had a daughter killed by a quack abortionist, and while in detention he asks his lawyer to lay flowers on her grave. The girls on whom he performed his operations tell of the many "consultations" held with him before he would take their cases; and in one of the surprise twists a beautiful fashion model tells how the doctor insisted that she have her child, now the adored center of her life. There is a violent and mawkish scene between the youngest girl and her outraged father. The two members of the jury (women) who are strongly against abortion are a neurotic fool and a grim old zealot. The judge twinkles benevolently both at the defense lawyer and the doctor on trial; and for that matter, both defending father and son melt in admiration for their client. In between all this—doubtless for entertainment purposes—are jocular exchanges between the judge and contending counsel, and a little side incident in which a nasty reporter breaks the name and story of the youngest abortion victim against the express wishes of the court.



Thus the formulas win, and what could have been a simple story, terrible in its simplicity, has become melodrama instead of life.

IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED that a straight documentary in the *CBS Reports* or *NBC White Paper* manner would have served the argument far better than a play. I doubt whether this is necessarily so, for drama at its best can be social protest at its most effective. "The Benefactors" succumbed to *The Defenders*.

And yet . . . if it has made people think and talk, it has performed a service still far too rare on this medium. CBS may have given others courage.

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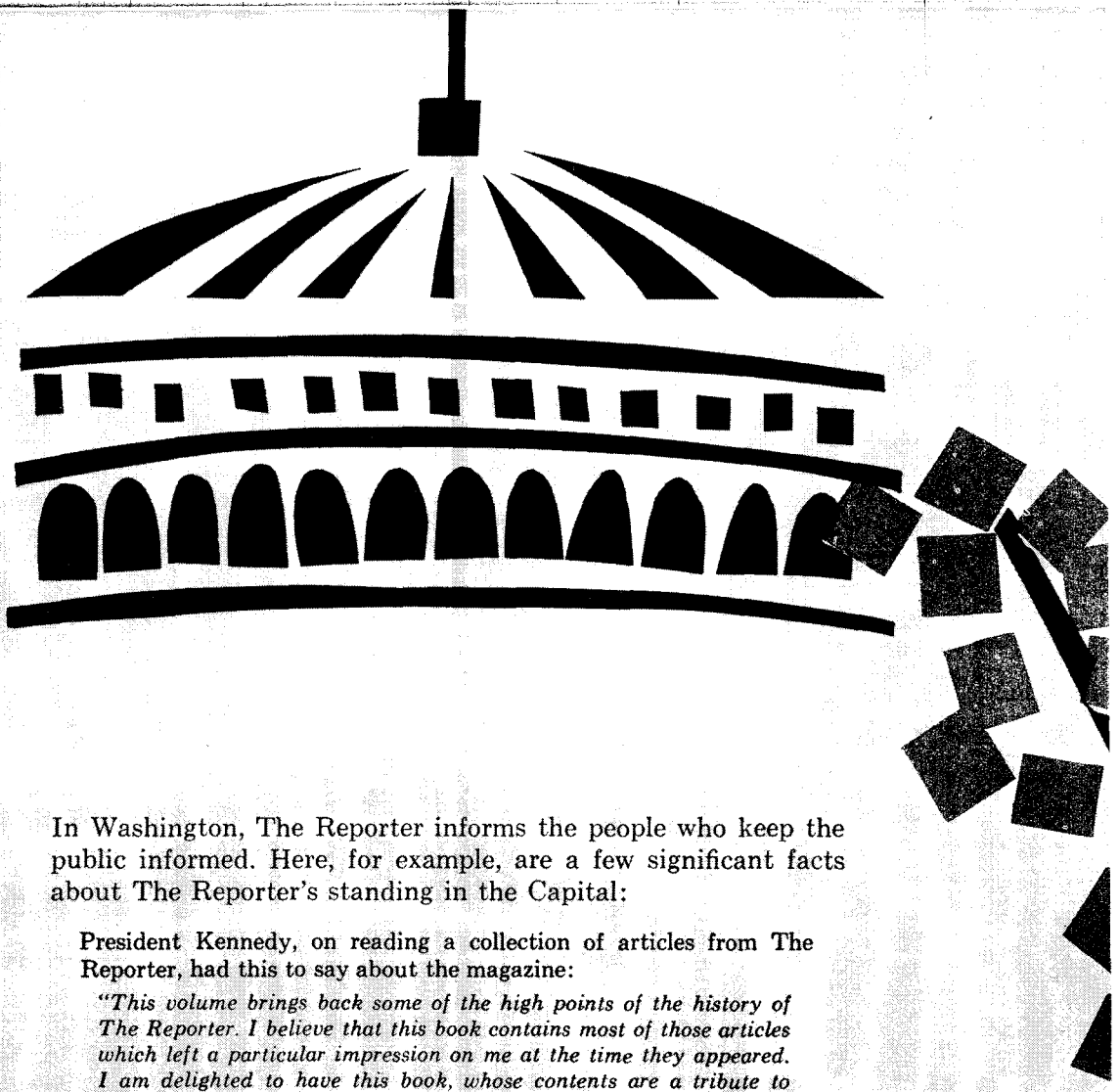


In Washington, The Reporter informs the people who keep the public informed. Here, for example, are a few significant facts about The Reporter's standing in the Capital:

President Kennedy, on reading a collection of articles from The Reporter, had this to say about the magazine:

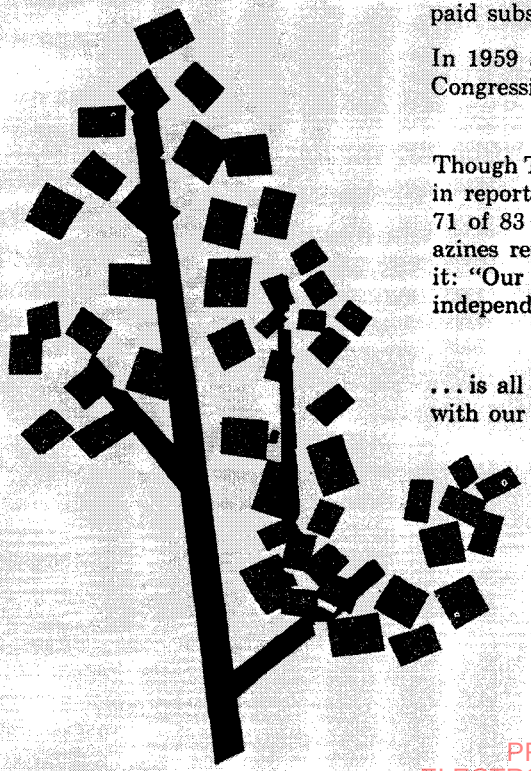
"This volume brings back some of the high points of the history of The Reporter. I believe that this book contains most of those articles which left a particular impression on me at the time they appeared. I am delighted to have this book, whose contents are a tribute to The Reporter and to its editorial leadership."

34 of the principal officials in the Executive Branch are paid subscribers. (Ten of them have written for The Reporter.)

33 U.S. Senators are paid subscribers.

Virtually every foreign embassy in Washington has one or more paid subscriptions.

In 1959 alone, 25 articles from The Reporter were inserted in the Congressional Record.



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THE REPORTER

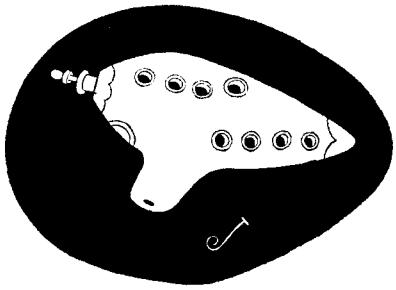
The Citybillies

NAT HENTOFF

THE GROWING LEGIONS of city folk singers are being preached at from several directions. Standing for "authenticity" is Alan Lomax, the Paul Bunyan of collectors, who warns: "In order to acquire a folk singing style, you have to experience the feelings that lie behind it, and learn to express them as the folk singers do . . . Here the city singer of folk songs is playing his full and serious role—that is, to interpret for his city audience the lives and feelings of the past or of a faroff society, to link them emotionally. If he does so, he will grow within the terms of his folk art."

Opposed to Lomax and proselytizing for undirected spontaneity is Brendan Behan's brother Dominic, a wryly expressive urban bard of Ireland (*Finnegan's Wake and Other Irish Folk Songs*, Folk-Lyric Records FL 113, 3323 Morning Glory, Baton Rouge, Louisiana). "All this emphasis on 'folk knowledge,' 'ethnic approach,' etc.," says Behan contemptuously, "is hindering the young singer. It is educating him into the phony accent, the idiomatic restrictions . . . Forget the 'Folk' pundit. Open your mouth, and whatever your voice is like, sing! And to hell with the ethnicists! Folk song is not the special preserve of the few but the undeniable heritage of the many."

As usual, there is a position in between, and it is proclaimed convincingly both in credo and in her music by Peggy Seeger, younger sister of the gregarious Pete Seeger. In her notes for *The Best of Peggy Seeger* (Prestige/International 13005), Miss Seeger points out reasonably that the city singer has a much wider range of experience and interests than the ethnic model who was limited to his town or farm and to only one genre of music. The city singer, Miss Seeger emphasizes, "cannot even try to adapt his life or way of thinking to that of the field singer. He should not even try to narrow his musical performance so that he plays only absolutely 'traditional' music. This would be an anachronism . . . He must rather consciously adapt the music to his own needs. Every city singer in the present-day American scene, as far as I can see, goes through a period of adaptation, through which he flits, musically speaking, from one song genre to another—from Negro work songs to foreign songs to party games to humorous songs and so on . . . with his instrumental style adapting itself accordingly. And out of this experience, if the singer is a creative one, will come a personal musical style which will of necessity be an amal-



gam of the musical stages through which he has passed, however mutually opposed they have been."

UNTIL fairly recently, there had been all kinds of awkward amalgams but very few creative fusions. Finally, however, several postgraduate citybillies are emerging who have followed the winding road outlined by Miss Seeger. One of the most startling of the younger minnesingers is twenty-year-old Bob Dylan (*Bob Dylan*, Columbia CL 1779, stereo CS 8579). Originally from Minnesota, Mr. Dylan is still raw and uneven, but he has already gone beyond simple assimilation to demand attention on his own. In his first album, accompanying himself on guitar and taking an occasional whooping break on the harmonica, Dylan plunges into Negro blues, plaintive mountain songs, updated Scottish tunes, and sardonic folklike pieces of his own composition. He adapts his sound and phrasing to the varying needs of the material, but throughout he is unabashedly himself. Among his other accomplishments, Dylan is expert in the "talking blues" popularized by Woody Guthrie, a friend and major influence. And in "Talkin' New York," Dylan permits himself some barbed comments on the pomposity that is occasionally evident among the coffeehouse set in Greenwich Village and similar enclaves. He tells of looking for work in the Village one day and of being peremptorily dismissed ("You sound like a hillbilly. We want folk singers here").

Another wanderer influenced by Woody Guthrie is Jack Elliott (*Ramblin' Jack Elliott*, Prestige/International 13033). In fact, this Brooklyn-born singer and guitarist (who arrived as Elliot Charles Adnopoz in 1931 "on a 45,000-acre ranch in the middle of Flatbush") was for a time the mirror image of Guthrie. Elliott walked, talked, dressed, sang, and rode the rails in the Guthrie manner, but he has now outgrown his apprenticeship. There remain frequent traces of Guthrie in Elliott's poker-faced understatements and in his choice of material, but he has broadened his scope to include Negro as well as white blues and a provocatively heterogeneous bag of American mountain songs and British-based ballads.

Increasing numbers of citybillies are meanwhile becoming proficient in the exhilarating "bluegrass" style —bristling country music improvised by virtuosi on unamplified string instruments. The nucleus of one of the most impressive of these units (*The Greenbriar Boys*, Vanguard VRS-9014) consists of three college graduates, one of whom is a specialist in microwave electronics. From having absorbed the best recordings in the country tradition, the Greenbriar Boys are authentic-sounding enough to have won the Old Time Band Competition at the Fiddlers' Convention in Union Grove, North Carolina. And yet they are not just skillful imitators. They have a bite and thrust of their own and are discriminating in the balance and variety of their repertory. In this album there are vintage dance tunes, raw and vigorous sacred songs, comedy numbers, and the kind of tearful news ballad that has been endemic to Southern radio for forty years ("There's a bewtiful, bewtiful field/ Far away in the land that is fair/ Happy landings to you, Amelia Earhart/ Farewell, first lady of the air").

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Like the Greenbriar Boys, more and more citybillies are finding material in the country recordings of the 1920's and 1930's, once dismissed as "impure" and "commercial" by some ethnicists but now gaining stature as an illustration of an earlier stage in American folk music during which traditional styles were adapted to contemporary concerns and to the widening experiences of even hillbillies. One of the liveliest of these earlier bands was a Georgia group, Gid Tanner and His Skillet Lickers. A collection of what used to be extremely rare recordings by them is now available in *Gid Tanner: Old Familiar Tunes* (FSSM Records 15001 D, Folk Song Society of Minnesota, 3218 4th Street, S.E., Minneapolis).

As the postgraduate citybillies broaden their search into the past and into their own resources as musicians, more of them are losing the self-conscious posturing that characterized all too many "serious" singers of folk music in the past decade. Those who continue developing—and do not become manufacturers of slick entr'actes in the posh supper clubs—retain their respect and affection for the traditions but are also gradually finding ways to express their own particular skills and interests. They begin to realize that they can legitimately bring their own backgrounds and personalities to various styles of folk music and get as much satisfaction from musicmaking—in their city ways—as the "ethnic" folk singers have done.

One of these maturing performers, John Cohen of the *New Lost City Ramblers* (Folkways FA 2396), says: "There is a side of us all which goes about trying to make the world over in our own image. There is another side—where one searches to encounter his own image in the world. In this process, one examines all kinds of elements which come into his path." And when the citybilly tries to find his image in folk music, he often discovers areas of emotional relevancy in many different idioms, from the blues to the hokum of the Skillet Lickers.

"A person," Cohen is convinced, "sings the songs as they look like him."

BOOKS

Our American Plutarch

ALFRED KAZIN

PATRIOTIC GORE: STUDIES IN THE LITERATURE OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, by Edmund Wilson. *Oxford University Press. $8.50*

Some years ago, when Edmund Wilson was publishing in the *New Yorker* some of his earlier studies for this book, I happened to be dining one night with an extremely intelligent European publisher who had been famous for his absolute independence and foresight in supporting the most original writers of the 1920's. The publisher, who greatly admired Wilson's literary criticism, could not understand his devoting so much study and care to Harriet Beecher Stowe, to the memoirs of Generals Grant and Sherman, to Southern women diarists of the war like Kate Stone and Mary Chesnut. "Why is he reading all that stuff now? Why *now*?"

The publication of *Patriotic Gore* at this time has no relation to the ridiculous ceremonies in commemoration of the Civil War. Wilson works by his own stately and obstinate rhythm, and has had this book on his mind for a very long time; and though *Patriotic Gore* was perhaps pushed ahead so that at least it would not come out in 1966, the contrast between it and much of the Civil War stuff now being dished out is so deep as to be positively frightening. Where the Civil War buffs and the usually accommodating hacks vibrate with patriotic emotions belied by their own bored prose, Wilson, so deep in "all that stuff" that the reader positively sees Lincoln and Grant and Sherman before him, opens his book with a preface that reads as if it had been specially composed to drive off anyone who might still have the illusion that the Civil War was just and necessary. As if the title (taken from "Maryland, My Maryland!") were not surly and sarcastic enough, Wilson compares the Northern refusal to grant the South its independence —his version of the conflict—to the Soviet suppression in 1956 of the Hungarian revolt. The United States was an aggressor against the Indians, as against the Mexicans; F.D.R. let the Japanese give us the excuse that we needed, Pearl Harbor, for making war on them. Wilson ticks off Hiroshima, our postwar belligerence toward Russia, our preparations for bacteriological and biological warfare. He believes that our policy turned Castro toward Communism, and that we are now hell-bent on the same aggressive policy (though we never admit our aggressiveness). The "insufferable moral attitudes" that appeared to us first to be justified by our victory over the Confederacy in 1865 "prevent us from recognizing today, in our relation to our cold-war opponent, that our panicky pugnacity as we challenge him is not virtue but at bottom the irrational instinct of an active power organism in the presence of another such organism, of a sea slug of vigorous voracity in the presence of another such sea slug."

This belligerent skepticism about our established virtues is not what you get in current writings about the Civil War. Even Southerners, who of course consider that the North committed aggression against them in 1861, tend, I have noticed, to be admiring of our stand in 1898, 1917, 1941, and in Korea in 1950—just as Southerners were in the 1840's the most active in attacking Mexico and in wanting to take over Cuba. Wilson's bitterness on the subject of America's "power-drive" represents no point of view but his own. Nor does he make any real effort in his preface to prove his case; he just helps himself out with terrific images. The more you study his preface, the less it seems to be an interpretation of American history that you can weigh, that you can deal with as historical evidence. It is a

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series of defiant assertions, marvelously rhythmic; I just don't believe that any historical case should be *this* complete.

Thus the question naturally reemerges—why, if Wilson feels this way about the Civil War and about American history in general, should he want to spend fifteen years on this book? To which the only possible answer is another question—why, if he says he feels this way about the Civil War, should he have written such an extraordinary book around it?

FOR *Patriotic Gore* is really a great book. It seems to me quite the greatest single work of Wilson's unique career as a man of letters, and it contains, almost incidentally, the most profound considerations on literature in this country that I have ever read. It makes the passion that went into the war, and the disillusionment that followed it, more affecting than has any book in recent memory. It has in particular a fullness of historical atmosphere, a sensitivity to the great personages, of the vital writers and leaders, that makes you see Harriet Beecher Stowe, Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, as commanding figures in a great American epic. It is above all Wilson's success as a re-creator of certain great lives connected with the war that makes his book unique.

Wilson's particular strength as a literary artist in the writing of criticism or history has always been his sense of a man's career. Although he often has illuminating insights into a particular work or style, the framework on which they are based is the man's total life, his collected works, the personality as revealed by the full range of his activity. His estimate of anyone is rooted in the biographical facts, in ancestry as much as in literary production. He opens a chapter on the little-known Charlotte Forten, a Negro woman diarist, by saying that she was "the granddaughter of James Forten, a Philadelphia Negro, whose grandfather, the son of a slave, had succeeded in obtaining his freedom and who, at the time of the Revolution, had volunteered to fight for the Colonists." He introduces John T. Trowbridge, who wrote an important book about the South after the war, as "a New Yorker who lived in Boston, the once popular author of books for boys and a friend of Whitman and Emerson." Before describing the career of a little-known poet, Frederick Goddard Tuckerman, he will say that "The Tuckermans were rather a brilliant New England family." Harriet Beecher Stowe's husband Calvin had visions (or hallucinations). Though Abraham Lincoln "examined the mechanical devices that were brought to him in the years of his Presidency and is reported to have understood them, he does not seem to have been much impressed by the development of machinery in America or even much interested in it." Grant, dying of cancer of the throat and writing his *Personal Memoirs* to provide for his impoverished family, dictated the book until it became impossible to use his voice. "Humiliated, bankrupt and voiceless, on the very threshold of death, sleeping at night sitting up in a chair as if he were still in the field and could not risk losing touch with developments, he relived his old campaigns . . ."

There, in the heroes, the writers, the sensitive consciences, the faithful diarists, is Wilson's story: that is his Civil War. There is not a word here about the foreign volunteers, many of them unable to speak English, who fought in Virginia and Pennsylvania for a democratic Germany and Italian unity; not a word about the Homestead Act; not a word about the Manchester millworkers who because of the Northern blockade had no cotton to work, but who grimly endured unemployment and near-starvation out of their faith in Union principles. The great Dutch historian Pieter Geyl says that the thought uppermost in Lincoln's mind was that the democratic idea should not perish. This is the Lincoln who after Vicksburg wrote exultantly to a correspondent in the West, "Thanks to all: for the great republic—for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's vast future—thanks to all." But the Lincoln whom Wilson reproduces here so movingly, with such sculptured power, is significantly the intellectual aristocrat, the lonely great man who knew his own value and seems not to have cared for anyone but his wife and children. This book of brilliant "characters" ends on Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., the "last Roman," who despised

The Little Official of Maybe

"Sometimes the cautious answer of 'maybe' is necessary. An impulsive action is often worse than no action at all."— A government official

The Little Official of Maybe,
Who never says "Yes" or "No,"
Has a head the size of a peppermint,
A blinking stare as blank as snow.

He wears a prim, anonymous suit
Of neutral, washed-out gray,
And strings around his thin, pale neck
A tie the careful color of hay.

His office is a stack of baskets,
File and Hold, Out and In;
Over his desk hangs the motto:
"Who Doesn't Act, Cannot Sin."

—JAMES SCHEVILL

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popular opinion, shared Mencken's most cynical opinions, and though turned into a liberal sage by the liberals, did not consider himself a liberal in their sense, was not a reformer, and could not even be bothered reading the newspapers; he did not want to feel "the pulse of the machine."

HOLMES is Wilson's last word on the Civil War, for Holmes tried to find in himself, in intellectual excellence and perfect self-control, what he missed in the America that was transformed by the war. General Grant, though he drank privately, was a man of unbelievable coolness in battle, and in his *Personal Memoirs* wrote the greatest book of its kind since Caesar's *Commentaries*. Abraham Lincoln, who knew his own value very well, imposed his idea of himself on American literature and history. These are the great men of our last heroic age, of the true republican idea; these are our last Romans. After them came the deluge: the republic, Ambrose Bierce said, went "from the iron age to the brazen." The Grant who took command of the Union armies with such tact and irresistible authority was an incompetent President during the Gilded Age and was symbolically defrauded of all his savings by a speculator close to his own family. Holmes came out of the war hard and self-contained, concentrating entirely on "touching the superlative," on reaching the highest possible excellence in his field. Holmes "achieved isolation, remaining unperturbed and lucid, through the whole turbid blatant period that followed the Civil War—with its miseries of an industrial life that was reducing white factory workers to the slavery which George Fitzhugh [an editor who extolled chattel slavery] had predicted, with millionaires as arrogant and brutal as any Carolina planters, with the violent clashes between them as bloody as Nat Turner's rebellion or John Brown's raid upon Kansas, with its wars in Cuba and Europe that were our next uncontrollable moves after the war by which we had wrested California from the Mexicans and the war by which we had compelled the South to submit to the Washington government."

Nevertheless, this national trauma, this irrational and unjust war, this war that set in motion the society in which we live today, dominated by war and fear, left behind figures of such heroism, nobility, courage, and magnanimity, of such piercing intellect and lofty ideals, that out of these figures alone Wilson can make the great book that Robert Lowell has aptly compared to Plutarch. This is our American Plutarch: the Southern lives and the Northern lives, side by side: the men and women, known and unknown, who under Wilson's inimitable touch come alive again to figure as all the passion and nobility, all the mind and courage and rectitude, which he despairs of seeing again in this country. In his love of the old "republic" and his despair of the democracy that destroyed it, in his contempt for the Gilded Age, for the robber barons, for the F.D.R. who put us into war, Wilson has been able to summon up again through his feeling for the creative individual all that he misses in the country hell-bent for more war. When he touches for a moment on the eighteenth-century leisureliness of American style, he suddenly evokes "the world of the early America just after the Revolution—loose settlements and pleasant towns growing up on the banks of great rivers, in the span of enormous landscapes and on the edge of mysterious wilds —[where] it was occasionally possible for the arts to take seed and quietly to flower in a purer and freer form than was easy at a later date." When he describes Grant and Lee at Appomattox—Grant rode up in a dirty soldier's blouse, with only his lieutenant general's shoulder straps to show his rank, and got so absorbed talking to his old superior in the Mexican War, General Lee, that Lee had to remind him of the matter at hand—the reader reverberates to this as if he were present. Every stroke brings the effect home; yet the portrait of Grant (my favorite piece in this book) rests on so many quotations from Grant himself, Civil War correspondents, old friends, that they become the voices of the forgotten time. It is said of Plutarch that many of his quotations are all that remain of certain Greek dramatists. So one might say of *Patriotic Gore* that its

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copious quotations—often from rare and inaccessible works of the period—are all that remain to us now of the old republic that is at the same time the subject and the passion of this book.

It is this commemorative sense of American history that explains why Wilson has been working on "all that stuff" now. Nothing could be more erroneous than to suppose that the bristling preface is unrelated to the rest of the book. It is certainly not convincing; but it is the confession of faith, the necessary avowal of what he thinks America and Americans have become, that explains why Edmund Wilson could have written this magnificent work of art around a war which he sees not as a new birth of freedom but as a historical calamity. For *Patriotic Gore* does what all real criticism must—it brings the issue back to ourselves.

At a time when Americans no longer understand their unpopularity in the world, for they will not see that it is what we make of ourselves that establishes our reputation abroad, the important thing to say about this book is that in style, in form, in intellectual passion, it is of a piece with the heroic emotion that it describes, with the heroic age to which it pays a last salute. «»

Goldwater's Flagpole

WILLIAM LEE MILLER

Why Not Victory?, by Barry M. Goldwater. *McGraw-Hill. $3.95.*

An electronic flagpole at Senator Barry Goldwater's Arizona home puts the American flag up and down at sunrise and sunset, we are told, without human effort. Old-fashioned patriotism thus is somewhat compromised by technology. The "conservative" of Mr. Goldwater's kind, however, is not well equipped to notice the compromise, or to consider its implications. The machinery of modernity is fully endorsed and exploited, but its meaning for political philosophy and policy is not examined. One can imagine a conservative who would not have that flagpole and who would also not write this book.

When I put "conservative" in quotation marks with reference to Mr. Goldwater, I do not exactly mean to match the slur by "Arthur Krock" on those he calls "liberals"; I mean chiefly to indicate, rather, that Mr. Goldwater, who uses the word with great insistence, treats conservatism as a distinct position, unmistakably set off from its liberal opposite. As the chief national salesman for this sort of politics, the senator is a rare bird in this anti-doctrinaire, nonideological country: a practical politician who has made his way as a self-proclaimed ideologue. He encourages and he fits into a newly ideological collegiate politics. When he appeared at Yale last month, a debate on foreign policy followed his main speech, in which the labels flew with abandon and it appeared that everything had a distinct liberal side and a distinct conservative side. Of course the word "conservatism," like the word "liberalism," is so variously employed that no resort to quotation marks can straighten us out; still, with a man whose whole career is bound up with being an explicit conservative, one may fairly indicate that conservatisms differ, and that there is something of a gap between Barry Goldwater and, say, Edmund Burke.

On domestic policy, the story is familiar. "Mr. Conservative" is naturally against Federal aid to education (it is not the money but the control that bothers him) and, although he admits that he could not dismantle the "so-called social gains of the New Deal" and the progressive income tax (unless we could find some other way to get the money), he is not in favor of them. Conservatism in that setting has little to do with the conservatism of the textbooks, except resistance to change and congeniality to privileged classes; it does not at all have the conservative awareness of an organic community, but rather is classic American individualism and libertarianism picturing separated and self-reliant frontiersmen, "free" in the negative "Don't Fence Me In" sense and antagonistic to government.

There was much that was good in that classic position. In the age of electronic flagpoles, however—of technology empowering corporate giants and increasing our interdependence—it loses its connection with reality and becomes simply an appeal to old myths and provincial habits, an anti-government rationalization for the interest of the powerful and wealthy.

With respect to international politics we have a more complicated and interesting situation. The genuine conservative may have more to contribute to that field than to American domestic affairs, because there are more severe limits on what can be done, because universal principles are even farther from solving the complex particular cases, and because power and interest, rather than reason and law, are at the center. Elements of conservative wisdom are necessary to an understanding of the field. Looking at Goldwater on foreign policy, we find that these elements are not altogether absent: in the meeting at Yale, many listeners who would cheerfully describe themselves as liberals were by no means always on the side of "liberal foreign policy" against Mr. Goldwater, and one could accept many sentences in this new book of his on foreign policy if they were taken out of the context of the whole. Against the most naïve proponents of the United Nations and foreign aid and world public opinion and disarmament, and the most naïve ignoring of the role of force and selfishness and nationalism in world affairs, Mr. Goldwater might have some points. However, the worth of such conservative points is lost by the quite unconservative and ideological setting he puts them in. Clearly, the conservative wisdom American foreign policy needs is not forthcoming from our most prominent officeholding conservative.

That hero of all true conservatives, Burke, did not like the doctrine of the French revolutionaries because it tried to fit a complicated social world into the mold of its own abstractions. It overestimated what could and should have been done by

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planning and by will, and as a result committed wrongs. Goldwater's views on American foreign policy have exactly the same fault. They share that vice of the radicals, the expectation that everything can be remade by proclamation and by will to fit a pattern; they lack the virtues of a genuinely conservative sense of the real and of limits. The main theme of Mr. Goldwater's book, that the United States should "proclaim" that "victory" is our aim in the war with Communism, is absurdly verbal and empty, showing a trust in words and declarations that should make any true conservative blush. His overemphasis on the sheer ideological aspect of the world struggle also partakes more of the ideologue's dealing in bald ideas than of the conservative's awareness of limiting and qualifying facts. This sheer ideological anti-Communism, with rivals outdoing each other in denouncing Communism, teaching "what it is," insisting on its monolithic character, proclaiming intentions to have victory over it, etc., is suspect if only because it is so easy. Such a denunciatory, proclamatory anti-Communism is much less costly than an actual and many-sided anti-Communist world policy.

When we turn to the new content of a Goldwater policy, there is really not much there, and in what there is the same doctrinaire aspect appears. Mr. Goldwater insists on a flat, consistent, uncompromised "program" that would fit the mood and rhetorical abstractions of anti-Communism. He does not examine—as a conservative should—the possible unintended results, the limits of what we can do, the untoward developments we should anticipate. His appeal is basically to a crude nationalism, and to American wishful thinking.

MR. GOLDWATER'S most notable blind spot has to do with nuclear weapons. He does admit they exist, and explains that, as a grandfather, he does not like war or the thought of nuclear devastation. Nevertheless, his whole speech at Yale (entitled "Are All Heroes Dead?") was cast in the rather complacent terms of old pre-nuclear debates about pacifism, extolling "valor" and the military virtues, and condemning the "cowardice" and "guilt complex" of the "nuclear philosophers." In the book, too, victory is presented as a simple matter of "taking the offensive."

But surely, if the meaning of patriotic flag raising is altered when electronics does it for you, so the meaning of "force" and "war" and "valor" and even "victory" are even more thoroughly altered when the push-button destruction of millions of civilians may be what you are talking about. Mr. Goldwater not only does not take full account of this new world; he doesn't really admit that it's there.

The Battle Of Deerfield

MARVIN R. WEISBORD

BUT NOT NEXT DOOR, by Harry and David Rosen. *Ivan Obolensky. $3.95.*

In 1917 the city of Louisville, Kentucky, tried to do away with integrated housing by zoning itself "white" and "Negro." The Supreme Court called this action a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Denied this simple expedient, other white communities over the years have resorted to upzoning, building codes, restrictive covenants, and other more or less legal devices to keep Negroes segregated.

More recently the power of eminent domain—condemnation of land for a public purpose—has been tried increasingly as an anti-integration measure. In 1960, for example, a water district in Portland, Oregon, condemned a site for sanitation control because a Negro couple was building a house on it. In this case, a U.S. district court enjoined the water district; no fight developed because the commissioners backed down and allowed the Negroes to finish their house. In Portland, however, the water district clearly didn't need the land and obviously had more on its mind than sanitation.

But in a two-year-old case still to be decided by the courts, Deerfield, Illinois, has crossed the line

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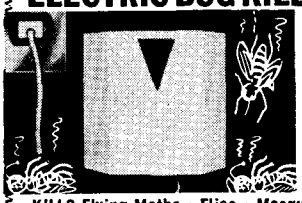

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from the flagrantly illegal use of public power to a more subtle zone where the issue isn't so obvious. In December, 1959, Deerfield condemned twenty-one acres of subdivided land for parks only after learning that some of the $30,000 homes the builder was putting up would be sold to Negroes. The builder has sued several Deerfield residents in Federal courts and is fighting the condemnation in Illinois courts. What blurs the legal issue is the fact that this village does need parks, the builder's land can be used for parks, and Deerfield insists that it will use the land for parks if it wins.

IT IS ALSO CLEAR that Deerfield would never have condemned the land but for the specter of integration. *But Not Next Door* is a detailed account of the responses of Deerfield and its residents to the sensitive issue of race and housing. The title derives from an imaginary quote by a composite Deerfield resident, "a junior executive at the Chicago office of a large national company," who bought a house in Deerfield, expected to sell it at a profit when transferred, and was worrying about his investment.

"We're not bigots," says Bob Danning. "We don't go around calling people names. And I don't think we want to deny Negroes or anybody else the right to decent homes, just as good as ours. But not next door," he adds anxiously. The Dannings are one of three fictional families the Rosens have created to show the effects of an issue that bitterly split this northern suburb of Chicago in the winter of 1959. A second composite family, the Joe Robbinses, are insecure Jews, uncertain what to do, aware only that integration in housing is not, if the pun can be excused, a black-and-white issue but a subtle and complex business, touching the conscience of every person who must decide for or against. The third family, the Frank Gilberts, are community-minded Lutherans, sharing some of the prejudices and stereotypes of their neighbors but (in Frank's case, if not his wife's) also prompted by a strong sense of morality.

In this book the Deerfield experience—including the roles of many officials, ministers, and businessmen whose names are not disguised—is seen through the eyes of the three families. One human trait clearly emerges: the need many of us share to cloak in "acceptable" language actions that we know don't square with our own or otherwise widely held ideals. In Deerfield nobody admits a bias against Negroes, only a proper concern for property values and a disdain for the "totalitarian forcing" of Negroes upon a "helpless" community.

Few American suburbs will escape the Deerfield experience much longer. The pressures of qualified Negroes to move to decent suburban homes cannot be ignored. *But Not Next Door* makes a useful textbook for people who might wish to see their own areas meet the problem with good sense and morality. Deerfield, the book demonstrates, has paid heavily for its stand both in money and human values. Some of its citizens have had to raise considerable cash for legal fees to defend themselves; neighbors once friendly have stopped speaking to each other; Deerfielders visiting other parts of the country find their home town mentioned with the same scorn once used on Little Rock. There is much guilt and shame in Deerfield, and one imagines that expiation, if it comes at all, will be a gift from the Supreme Court.

THE ROSEN BROTHERS are social workers with wide experience; and David, with his wife and four children, has lived in Deerfield for five years. Evidently the composite families have been drawn from first-hand experience. Unfortunately the book has organizational flaws that mar the narrative. For one thing, the authors jump back and forth between events in Deerfield and excerpts from later court hearings where the events are described. This device is clumsy and, lacking clear transitions, confuses the time sequences. The action is often hard to follow, even for a reader familiar with it. Nor are the legal issues in the condemnation suits clarified, despite extensive quotes from transcripts. On the other hand, no reader will have any doubt about the moral issues involved in the battle of Deerfield.

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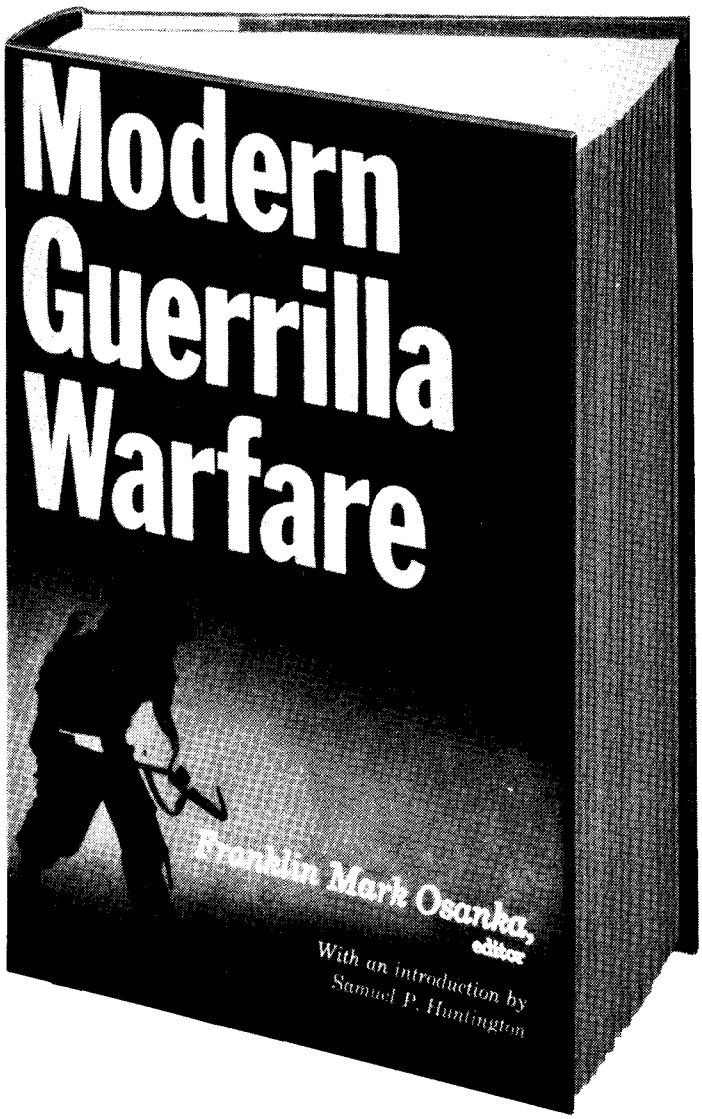

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FRANKLIN MARK OSANKA is currently engaged in U.S. Army special warfare problems as a member of the Human Resources Research staff of George Washington University. His knowledge of guerrilla warfare techniques is strengthened by his own special training activities as Navy Frogman, Army Paratrooper and Marine Raider.

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SOUTH VIETNAM, 1962: Two U.S. Army Rangers demonstrate hand-to-hand combat before a unit of government troops. Shortly after the lesson, these troops departed on a scouting mission, keeping alert for guerrillas.

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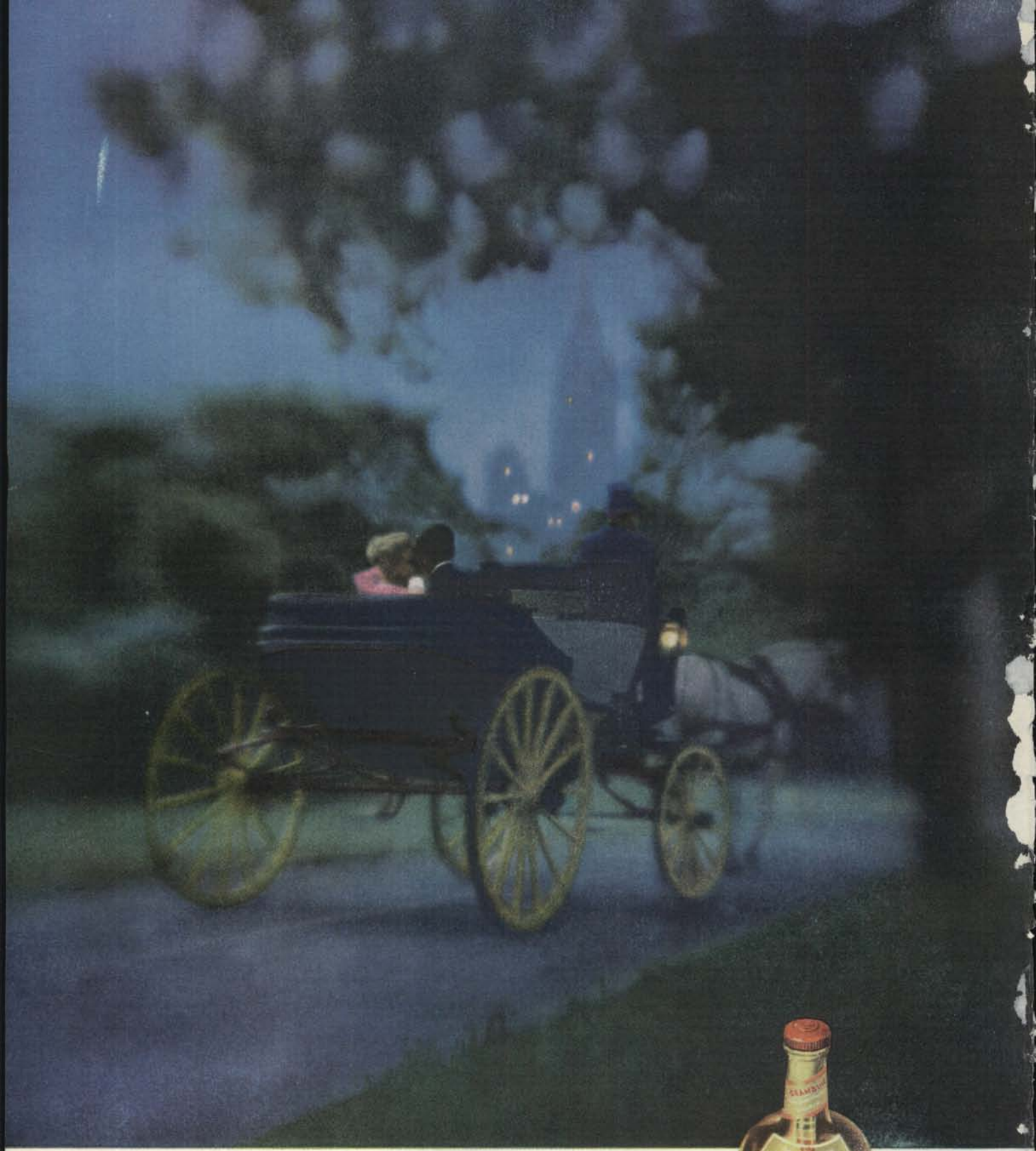

Evenings that memories are made of—
so often include Drambuie

80 PROOF

After dinner, have a dram of Drambuie,
the cordial with the Scotch whisky base.

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